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Roadblocks in the West dramatizing Moscow's urgency on the summit

By Kumar Goshal

AS A SUMMIT CONFERENCE came tantalizingly closer to reality, the roadblocks became more discernible—and so did the reasons for Moscow's feeling of urgency.

The Western Big Three on March 26 dispatched notes to Moscow agreeing to a top-level meeting after a May 11 foreign ministers' conference. There were, however, differences in the emphasis each placed on the preliminary meting.

French President de Gaulle's note was the toughest. It made his attendance at the summit dependent on "genuine progress" by the foreign ministers. Washington said the U.S. government "would be ready to participate . . . as soon as developments in the foreign ministers' meeting justify holding a summit conference."

The British note was the most forthright. It said: "Her Majesty's government will be glad to participate . . . as soon as developments in the foreign ministers' meeting warrant holding a summit conference." It spoke of a summit meeting this summer.

AT THE TEA PARTY: The British, in fact, were insistent on a summit even if the foreign ministers reached no understanding at all. N.Y. **Times** columnist Arthur Krock said Prime Minister Macmillan had explained the reason for Britain's insistence at a tea party given by Vice President Nixon in his honor during his recent visit to Washington.

Krock said that Macmillan denied he favored "appeasement;" but he emphasized the absolute necessity for exploring every area of negotiation even after repeated failure. To him this seemed

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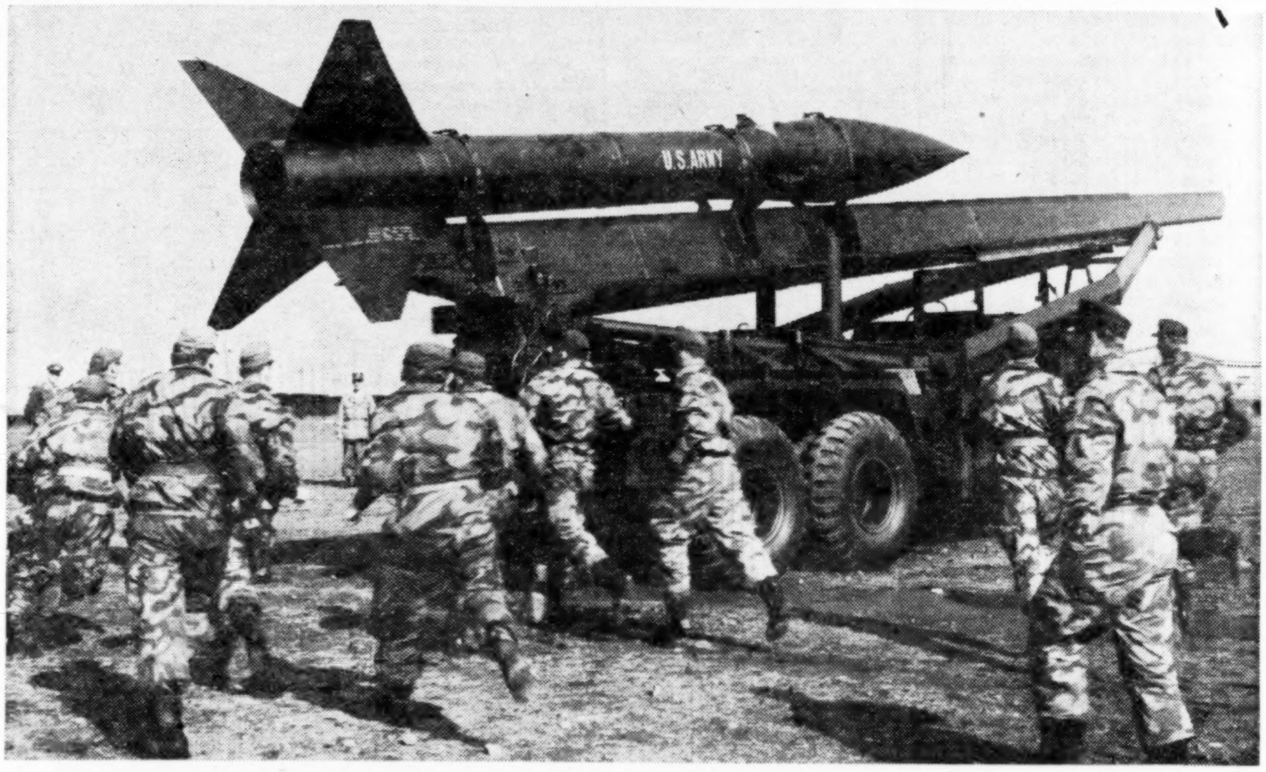

REMEMBER THE GOOD OLD DAYS WHEN WE SAID WE'D NEVER LET GERMANY REARM?
We always were a nation of great kidders, as is demonstrated above at Donnersberg (it means Thunder Mountain), West Germany: Soldiers of the German army race to their stations at the firing ramp of an Honest John rocket (courtesy of Guess Who?) following the arrival of the first two such missiles. The Germans are going to get 258 more. This is the kind of thing that puts meaning in the talk of disengagement.

AEC PROMISES TO 'REVIEW' THE PROBLEM

Clamor continues for protection from fall-out

THE "GOVERNMENT-WIDE" review of the fall-out problem announced on March 24 by chairman John A. McCone of the Atomic Energy Commission, the N.Y. **Times** reported, was "ordered as government officials were becoming concerned that the issue of radiation and atomic fallout was threatening once again to develop into a major controversy."

On the same day the Natl. Academy of Sciences said it would look into the biological effects of radiation to see if further research should be undertaken.

This was the Administration's answer to those who had criticized the AEC's calm in face of new evidence of increasing radiation hazards. But closed-door investigations were unlikely to satisfy those who accused AEC officials of deliberately understating the dangers and suppressing reports that contradict their position. Critics were stirred by these developments:

- Strontium 90 content in food has increased alarmingly across the country, according to various independent surveys.
- A Defense Dept. report, kept secret for months, revealed that the fall-out rate from nuclear tests is much faster than previously believed. Nobel Prize winner Dr. Linus Pauling said: "There is cause for great concern. If fall-out of strontium 90 is five times as fast as I and others anticipate, that means five times the anticipated damage is being done." The report also said that fall-out is greater over the U.S. than any other area in the world.
- Project Argus, explosion of three atomic bombs 300 miles over the South Atlantic last September, was kept secret for six months until the N.Y. **Times** revealed it. According to official reports, Argus bombs enveloped the earth with an artificial radiation belt in space. Defense Secy. Donald A. Quarles called it a "magnificent achievement" and alluded to "substantial military implications."

MORAL QUESTION: In England the **Manchester Guardian** said: "According to announcements the radioactive debris 'just spread out in space.' Did it? Are the American authorities really certain

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A report on Tibet: What the U.S. press won't print

THE EYES OF THE WORLD are now turned toward "the roof of the world," where the Chinese People's Liberation Army has moved in force to end what quite probably is the death struggle of feudalism in mountainous Tibet.

Almost without exception, the U.S. press and officialdom see the struggle differently. The State Dept. calls China's move "barbarous intervention . . . to deprive a proud and brave people of their cherished religious and political autonomy, and to pervert their institutions to Communist ends." The N.Y. **Times** called Premier Chou En-lai's proclamation, dissolving a crumbling Tibetan government and replacing it with another Tibetan government, cynical and brutal; it objected to his characterization of a "cry for independence" as reactionary.

Yet the facts emerging from Tibet increasingly support the view that the "cry for independence" noted by the **Times** as the theme of the ten-day revolt in Tibet, originated not with oppressed Tibetans, but from as far away as Taiwan and the discredited Chiang Kai-shek; and from as near at hand as Kalimpong, India, where a cabal of traders and others under a former Tibetan premier have been accused for five years of seeking to foment revolt across the Tibet border, 40 miles away.

THE STATE DEPT.'S diplomatic use of the term "autonomy" rather than "independence" in an otherwise hardly diplomatic statement acknowledges a hard political fact: that Tibet has been an outpost of China almost without interruption back at least to the years of Kublai Khan in the 13th Century. As early as the 7th Century, Chinese taught the Tibetans medicine and arithmetic. In the late 18th Century, Chinese and Tibetans under Chinese leadership repelled an invasion by Ghurkas from Nepal, probably stimulated by the British in India. The British themselves invaded Tibet in 1904 but China regained control in 1910.

In 1950 the Chinese People's Liberation Army moved into Tibet to complete the rout of Kuomintang (Chiang) influence from mainland China. In 1951 a 17-point political agreement with the Tibetans gave the Central Government in Peking control over foreign relations and the right to maintain military forces there. China promised a development program and agreed to the continuance of Tibet's political and religious institutions. The local government was to carry out reforms.

Since 1950 the principal news from Tibet in the "free world" press has been of unrest and tribal uprising. Few and far between have been any stories of development and improvement.

IN EARLY 1955, following a six-month stay in China of Tibet's two ruling (and rival) personalities—the Dalai and Panchen Lamas — a preparatory committee was set up with the Dalai Lama as chairman and the Panchen Lama as first vice-chairman, to establish a Tibet Autonomous Region within China's national framework.

Meanwhile China had undertaken the tremendous engineering feat of building

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THE MAIL BAG

P.O. censorship

CLANTON, ALA.

Here's what I told the Postmaster-General who wanted me to sign forms to get my mail from overseas:

"I wish to strongly protest such procedures. I am told one of my ancestors was executed as a witch, and one was a Revolutionary war hero. I am 72 years old and presumably of sound mind, and as such, I believe I am capable of choosing any reading matter I desire to read.

"Our Post Office Dept. was originally set up, at public expense, as a public service, to expedite the dispensing of the mails. It has been a great institution, and still is, but since you took over the duties as Postmaster-General, service has been greatly curtailed and postal rates have been very substantially increased.

"These may possibly have been necessary, but I do not believe it is necessary to put upon our postal employes the extra burden of censoring our mails, thus interfering with the free dispensing of those mails, and carrying on a campaign of intimidating the American public, which is a violation of the First Amendment. This must require much of their time, and is needless added expense for the American taxpayers."

Wes Gletty

•

HOLLYWOOD, FLA.

. . . My note to the Postmaster at Buffalo after receiving the notice stated that I was an American adult who was subjected every year to over 11 billion of propaganda (advertising) and felt competent to evaluate my reading for myself. Also that the practice of holding up mail was copying the worst features of a totalitarian state and was an attempt to intimidate.

John W. Harvey

•

ROCHESTER, N.Y.

The last paragraph of the article, "House Unit Gives Warning on Reds," on p. 38 of the New York **Times,** Sun., March 8, may give a clue as to who is behind the Post Office "holdups" of such books as **Big Brainwash.** It quotes the 1958 House un-American Activities report: "27,000,000 individual pieces of foreign Communist propaganda have entered this country in the last three years with the volume growing. The committee urged a law to force the labeling of such material for what it is."

A. Forer

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

[In China] we saw people working like the slaves of the Pharoahs. There were 53,000 of them. Everywhere homes and wooden barracks had been put up for them, including 30 schools, 25 clubs, a cinema and theater, 21 sport facilities, a hospital and 40 dispensaries.

—Yugoslav law professor Max Snuderl as quoted in the New York **World-Telegram, 3/17**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Mr. C. G., Flushing, N.Y.

Mission renewed

MONSON, MASS.

The GUARDIAN is one of the surest inspirations to prayer in the best sense of that term that I know. Anyone who does not finish reading the GUARDIAN with a sense of mission renewed, and/or with a far better apprehension of reality must be obtuse. It is an amazing thing for me to consider how your staff, yes and my staff, can continue to pour forth such comprehensive journalism.

Even in the field of religion, which progressives are likely to by-pass, I discover that the GUARDIAN emphasizes with praise those who deserve recognition and unsparingly criticizes that which is harmful to freedom and peace. Such a weekly as the GUARDIAN fills a need which no other journal or newspaper is providing. Strangely people do not recognize a good thing when they see it. Good people must recommend the GUARDIAN to those who are like minded. The introductory subscriptions are the best method, I think. It happens to be the way in which I first started reading the GUARDIAN in 1952.

Alan Sawyer Jr.
First Universalist Church

Target for Tonight

TORONTO, CANADA

I thought you might be interested in this item picked up from **Industry,** publication of the Canadian Manufacturers' Assn. (March, 1959):

"'**Lunar Intelligence:** The following letter from a reader appeared in a recent issue of a daily newspaper: 'In view of the great expense and difficulty in firing rockets to the moon, I would suggest that future attempts be made when the moon is full. There would be a better chance of hitting this larger target than hitting the thin crescent present at the time of the latest Russian attempt.' No doubt all those brilliant Russian scientist will kick themselves for not having thought of this first."

Bob Ward,
Editor, **Canadian UE News**

Easter sermon

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

This is just to show that the GUARDIAN inspires letters. I wrote the following to Gov. John Patterson of Alabama:

"A great minister shortly befor his death preached a searching sermon on social justice. As he saw fellow humans being struck down by the cruelties of man, the dark shadows threatened to obscure completely any rays of hope and he cried out in anguish, 'There is a toothache in my heart.' That is the way I feel when I read about Alabama's treatment of Asbury Howard and his son. As I look at the poster that Mr. Howard had drawn, the prayer to heaven, the chained wrists, and the listing of all the normal things in life that a Negro cannot do, I see Jesus returned to earth bearing the cross again.

"Presently you and multitudes of professing Christians in Alabama will be entering Holy Week and contemplating the meaning of the Cross. Tragedy of tragedies, you will miss the essence of its significance for history. As I write I am painfully aware that our mistreatment of our Negro brothers and sisters is a national problem. My own community has not fully cleansed itself. Can we not somehow rise together, putting into daily practice the teachings about brotherhood we say we believe?"

Willard Uphaus

Pleased Texan

SAN ANTONIO, TEX.

I was indeed pleased with the March 9 issue of the GUARDIAN, particularly with the story of bankrupt Spain by our Editor-in-Exile, Cedric Belfrage.

Truly our fumbling State Dept. needs a complete overhauling from top to bottom. A cleaning out of the House Un-American Committee and its paid stool pigeons is needed, too.

It is a source of much comfort to this reader that the GUARDIAN has the guts to carry on against reaction.

Again thanks a million for the GUARDIAN and more power to the pen of Cedric Belfrage.

Paul Dennie

Evening Standard, London

"But Howard, it's me! Your kindly old mother!"

Summit question

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

I understand that every Soviet citizen is guaranteed a job, and that this guarantee is actually incorporated into their constitution. I have checked this very carefully by obtaining a copy of their constitution and I find this:

"Chapter X, Article 118: Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to work, that is, the right to guaranteed employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality. The right to work is ensured by the socialist organization of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises, and the abolition of unemployment."

It seems to me that this is another very good reason for a summit conference. It would give Ike an awfully good opportunity to get Premier Khrushchev aside and ask him how they do it.

Arthur M. Stevens

Men & nature

EAST PALATKA, FLA.

I greatly appreciated Corliss Lamont's description of his skiing trips. We all need means of coming down to earth in these high war-threat days.

We socialized beings must not become lopsided extremists in our daily living. We must truly contact Old Dame Nature and become imbued with earth's untainted beauty and golden treasures.

If such "get to earth" methods were practiced, our health would be much improved and there would be a much smaller number of lopsided extremists in the great social movement which is bounding ahead in spite of all.

B.L.B.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

MY DAUGHTER MARY IS SEVEN and, like all the children of this earth, firmly devoted to the cause of peace. She knew about the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace at the Waldorf-Astoria this week-end; within the range of her understanding I had explained it to her.

She knew about the pickets too. She saw them in front of Carnegie Hall on her way to see a performance of "Little Red Ridinghood" that Saturday afternoon. They disturbed her; she saw the hatred on their faces. When I came home from the conference on Saturday night, she said:

"Were there more people inside the hall than outside?"

"Yes," I said, "many more."

"Good," she said, "then the people inside will win."

—James Aronson in the Guardian, April 4, 1949

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A report on Tibet

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motor roads into Lhasa, the ancient Forbidden City and the site of the Dalai Lama's 17th century, 13-story Potala Palace. Two of the routes—one 1,400 miles and the other 1,300 miles—were completed and opened in a ceremony attended by 30,000 people on Christmas Day, 1954. One road crosses 16,000 foot peaks.

Promptly utilized by bumper-to-bumper motor convoys, the roads cut travel to China from three years by yak and mule and on foot in ancient days to from 10-15 days by truck. Prices of tea, salt and other commodities from outside Tibet were cut by half. Local products found new markets and better prices in China. Later a third highway was completed.

AS EARLY AS NOVEMBER, 1950, scare headlines in U.S. papers reported the presence of Soviet survey parties in Tibet, allegedly planning air bases as part of a "master plan to enable Moscow to extend its domination ultimately down through India and Pakistan to the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea."

What came of this was that in late May, 1956, a twin-engine transport plane piloted by a Chinese crew took off from an airfield in western Szechuan Province, made one landing at a midway airfield at 13,108 ft. elevation in Tibet, then flew on to an airstrip 3,000 feet up the mountain slopes above Lhasa, thus completing in 3½ hours the first passenger flight from China to Tibet. The flight from Peking to Lhasa can now be made in a total of eight hours.

IN 1955-56 THE GUARDIAN PRINTED a four-part series by Israel Epstein, author of **The Unfinished Revolution in China** (1947) and a member of the first press delegation to reach Tibet via the new motor roads. Epstein then reported the introduction into Tibet of free medical care, free veterinarian services; interest-free loans; free schools in the Tibetan language, with Chinese optional; and the promise of equal status for women. The people called the Chinese army men "Buddhas of selflessness." Tibetan youth have been enabled to study in China; and huge hydroelectric stations have sprung up along the routes of the mountainous China-Tibet highways. Great advances have been made in agriculture and animal husbandry.

Except for some articles in the **Christian Science Monitor,** hardly any of this sort of news has appeared in U.S. papers, although reports of "unrest" have appeared almost monthly since 1952 out of Hong Kong, Singapore, Delhi or Kalimpong by second, third or fourth hand reports.

The impact of a socialist economy on perhaps the world's most ancient and cloistered theocracy was bound to meet opposition, even without stimulation from outside the country. Even today, after nine years of trying, the herdsmen of Tibet fight against innoculation of their livestock against epidemics which have ravaged their herds for centuries. In the religious area, opposition to any kind of change is virtually built-in.

IN TIBET ONE MAN IN EVERY SIX people is a monk or holy man. (Some reports place the proportion at one in four in a total population of nearly 4,000,000.) The spiritual and temporal ruler of the country has for centuries been the Dalai Lama, a supposed incarnation of Buddha. When a ruling Lama dies, his successor is sought among male children born at the moment of his death. The Dalai Lama for three centuries has had a spiritual equal (some reports say spiritual superior) and a temporal rival in the Panchen Lama, also supposedly the reincarnation of a Buddhist god.

Both Lamas presently are young men, the Dalai Lama about 25, his rival about 22. Both Lamas were the children of peasants in China, chosen as infants because of certain marks and the recognition of certain holy objects. The Dalai Lama has ruled through regents since childhood. The Panchen Lama lived in China most of his life, since he was barred by the rivalry from ever coming to Tibet.

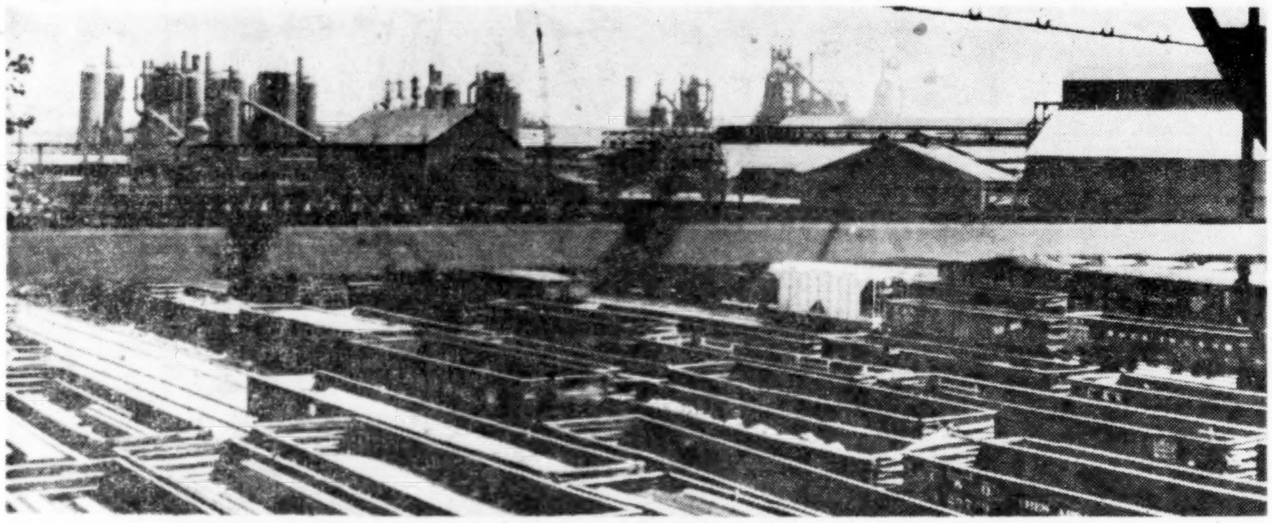
They were finally brought together in China in 1955 as delegates to the National People's Congress. During the ten days of the present revolt, apparently staged by 20,000 tribesmen from southern Tibet, the Dalai Lama was variously reported as kidnaped by the Chinese, fled to India, or leading the revolt from a hidden stronghold.

In his absence, the Chinese central government placed the Panchen Lama in command, and appointed a new Preparatory Committee to serve with him, asserting that the Dalai Lama had been placed "under duress" by the leaders of the rebellion.

At GUARDIAN press time, the Chinese radio reported three letters from the Dalai Lama, confirming that he had been abducted by the rebels and taken to Loka in southeastern Tibet. He said he had tried to forestall the rebellion but had been prevented from doing so by abduction on March 17.

100,000 JOBLESS LOOK TO THE MAY NEGOTIATIONS

In steel it's men vs. machines--and profits



WILL THE STEEL MILL STACKS GO SMOKELESS AGAIN—AS THEY DID IN 1956?
This was the scene on Chicago's far South Side when 650,000 went on strike three years ago

By **Robert E. Light**

WITH MORE THAN 100,000 steel workers unemployed, the mills ran at better than 90% of capacity and produced 2,600,000 tons a week during March—an all-time industry record. The jobless had been replaced by machines.

Unemployed steel workers look hopefully to negotiations for a new contract which are to begin May 18: they rely on the union to fight for a shorter work week as a way to spread the work. Also watching the bargaining will be 5,000,000 unemployed in other industries: what the steel union wins—or fails to win—will be a strong precedent.

Other eyes also focused on steel. In Washington, President Eisenhower asked labor and management to "show statemanship" by keeping wage increases equal to increased productivity which, he thought, would obviate the need for a price rise. The N.Y. **Times** editorialized: "Steel is central in the anti-inflation fight for at least two reasons. It is a fundamental material in many parts of our economy so that a price rise for steel exerts upward pressure on many other commodity prices. And, of course, any exorbitant wage increase won by the steel union would tend to become a pattern for similar wage increases—with their inflationary impact—in other industries."

AN OLD STORY: There is good reason to fear a price rise: the steel companies have a history of converting relatively minor wage gains into huge price and profit increases.

In 1956, after a five-week strike, the steel companies signed an agreement granting increases of about 20c an hour every year for three years. Immediately they raised the price of steel $8.50 a ton. Six months later the price went up $6 more; two more increases of $5 each followe soon after. For every price rise the industry pleaded increased labor costs. But the steel union said that for every dollar of increased wages, the companies added three dollars to the price.

STRIKE 'NEEDED': If the industry is going to get price increases this year, it will need a strike to blame it on. Steel buyers are betting there will be one. An industry trade paper, **Iron Age**, polled 31 major steel customers and found that 28 were certain a strike will come. They were stocking steel as fast as they could get it. Auto manufacturers were reported buying steel for 1960 cars. **Iron Age** added: "There is practically no doubt among steel buyers that higher prices will follow on the heels of a new steel labor contract."

The N.Y. **Times** pointed out: "The industry's capacity has become so great that it can produce all the steel the country is likely to use this year in nine or ten months." If there is no strike, the industry will have to order mass layoffs. A strike is better public relations.

The N.Y. **Times'** labor reporter A. H. Raskin found an alternative: "The answer on whether there will be a strike or a settlement . . . may not come from the negotiators but from Berlin. If a global conflict impends, the economic considerations that now point so overwhelmingly toward a test of strength in steel would be replaced by much more compelling pressures for a peaceful resolution of all contract issues."

PRELIMINARY SKIRMISHES: The fight between the union and management was launched long before the forces are to join at the bargaining table. **Business Week** described it as a "war of institutional advertising" and a "battle of paper bullets." Both sides have exchanged full-page broadsides in newspapers across the country.

Industry ads raised the slogan, "Inflation robs us all." They argued: "75% or more of the final cost of what you buy goes for labor." One ad used a picture of a Russian worker captioned: "Will he take away an American steelworker's job?" The copy warned that foreign producers could undersell American companies because their labor costs are lower.

Union propaganda flew the banner: "The more you earn, the more you buy." It said the union was going to ask for a "billion dollar package" and asked businessmen: "How many washers and dryers could your dealers sell for an extra $1,000,000,000?"

Labor added a note of glamor when it signed Phil Regan, "the singing cop," for a radio program on 2,500 stations.

SOME JOLTS: But behind the paper war are some grim realities. Those who look to the steel union to carry the fight for a shorter work week got a jolt on March 20. United Steelworkers president David J. McDonald said that a 30-, 32- or 35-hour week "would cost over $1 an hour to put into effect. And I know the steel industry is in no mood to grant $1 an hour in one fell swoop." McDonald has his own pet project—a 3-month paid vacation every five years in addition to regular vacation time. He said it would cost the companies only 12c an hour and would add 25,000 to 30,000 jobs.

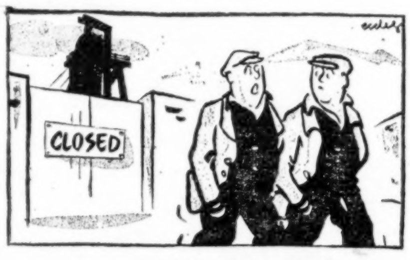
A second jolt came from the union's secretary-treasurer I. W. Abel. He said of the jobless: "100,000 will remain unemployed with little or no possibility of returning to the steel industry." He blamed automation but offered no union program to regain their jobs. Out of work, out of the industry, out of the union: it seems the union felt the unemployed were someone else's problem.

Specific union demands will not be drawn until a policy committee meets on April 30 in New York. But based on past performance, it seemed that McDonald would go into negotiations with a broad mandate to get what he could.

EMBARRASSING PROFITS: McDonald will be under pressure from inside the union to make a good showing. **Business Week** pointed out that "steel's 'ability to pay' will be almost embarrassingly evident. Earnings will soar with a high operating rate and more efficiency." Steel workers will point to the report of the Senate Subcommittee on Anti-Trust and Monopoly, which showed that in 1956 the board of directors of Bethlehem Steel, made up exclusively of officers of the company, voted themselves $6,500,000 in compensation for the year's work. The subcommittee concluded: "An average compensation to each officer-director in a steel company of $468,000 in one year acts as a challenge, a red flag, to labor unions and individuals to seek all they can. And it is difficult to persuade labor to hold a wage line when it knows the generous manner in which officers-directors compensate themselves."

STEEL OR SILK: McDonald will need a good showing to strengthen his position in the union. In 1957 he got a scare from an insurgent group, the first in the union's history, which got 35% of the vote in an election of officers. But some felt McDonald, a former student of acting, would turn to another performer, John L. Lewis, for a solution.

Lewis, whose miners are also being replaced by machines, signed a contract for a $2-a-day increase for the employed, but left those out of the mines permanently unemployed. There was also a parallel in Lewis' striking the mines periodically when there would be layoffs anyway.



Eccles, Daily Worker, London

"One thing, the Russians couldn't get a shorter working week than the Tories are giving us."

McDonald, who gets $50,000 a year plus expenses from the union, has authorized an official biography to be titled **Man of Steel**. But the N.Y. **Times** felt he was better called "Man of Silk." Either way, he'll have to be tough if the unemployed are to get protection from their union.

THOUSANDS TO RALLY FOR INTEGRATED SCHOOLS

There'll be a new Youth March on Washington Apr. 18

THE MOVEMENT for passage of civil rights legislation will receive a big boost on April 18 when thousands of young people from all parts of the country converge on the capital at the call of the national committee of the Youth March for Integrated Schools.

The march will be a follow-up of a campaign which began last year when 10,000 young people met at the Lincoln Memorial to demand action from Congress and the executive branch of government to back up the Supreme Court's ruling banning segregated public education. When the President refused to receive a delegation from the marchers, the youth vowed to return in larger numbers and with a million signatures affixed to an anti-jimcrow petition. April 18 is the date.

Local sponsoring committees have been established throughout the country, in Hawaii and Puerto Rico. Original signers of the petitions include Mrs. Daisy Bates, Mrs. Ralph J. Bunche, Rev. Edwin T. Dahlberg, Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., Father John LaFarge, S.J., Joachim Prinz, A. Philip Randolph and AFL-CIO president George Meany, Rabbi Roy Wilkins. Rev. King and showman Harry Belafonte will be among the speakers in Washington.

3 SENATORS ON LIST: In a statement addressed to 1,340,000 college students, the United States National Student Assn. became the latest of a growing list of organizations supporting the march. Robert R. Kiley, USNSA president and former student body president at Notre Dame U., urged full student participation in the demonstration for "interracial democracy in education."

Three U.S. Senators have endorsed the March: N.Y. Republicans Jacob Javits and Kenneth Keating, and Paul H. Douglas, the Illinois Democrat. In announcing his support, Keating revealed that he has requested the President to receive a delegation from the marchers.

In a letter to Randolph, chairman of the march and AFL-CIO vice president, Presidential secretary Thomas E. Stephens promised that the President or his "highest ranking aide" would grant an audience to four representatives of the youth marchers. Plans were under way for selecting a group of two Negro and two white youth from Northern and Southern areas.

To date, more than 100,000 signatures have been collected on petitions throughout the country and sponsors of the event are aiming at a delegation of 15,000 marchers.

UNION BACKING: At a recent New York luncheon 50 leading trade union officials voted to endorse the march. They included: Harry van Arsdale Jr., president, and Morris Iushewitz, secretary-treasurer of the United AFL-CIO Council of New York City; Charles Zimmerman, chairman of the national AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee, and Michael Quill, president of the Transport Union.

In Washington marchers will be fed at the National Guard Armory. East coast locals of the Amalgamated Butchers and Meat Cutters Union, AFL-CIO, will contribute the thousands of pounds of meat required for this purpose.

The march is being coordinated nationally by Bayard Rustin, exec. secy. of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Calls, petitions and further information may be secured from national headquarters of the Youth March for Integrated Schools, 312 W. 125th St., New York 27, N.Y.

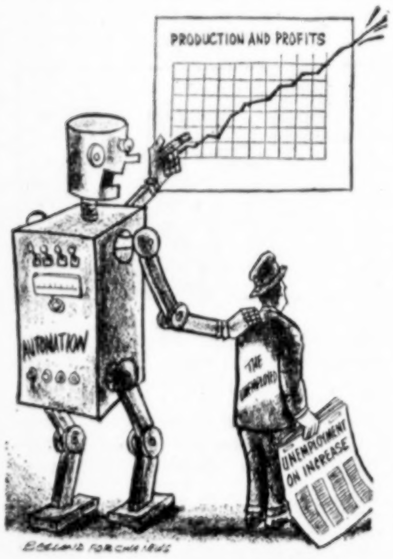
NO MARCHING AND NO TALKING

Labor brass waters down jobless parley in capital

WHEN IT WAS PROPOSED in February that the AFL-CIO lead a mass march on Washington, it was planned as a great protest by labor against unemployment. But on the eve of the conference—April 8-9 in the capital—it appeared that the massed protest would be reduced to a sedate conference, if some labor leaders have their way.

Auto union president Walter P. Reuther proposed the march at an AFL-CIO executive meeting after the unemployed in his union had organized and forced his hand. The march was converted to a "dignified" meeting by other union leaders.

But as workers without jobs scrambled to raise the fare to the capital, top AFL-CIO officers further watered down the conference. According to their plan delegates would attend a meeting at the National Guard armory April 8, hear speeches by union and government leaders and return home the same night. Next day the union brass and their trusted aides would confer to decide what can be done "practically." There seemed to be no place on the agenda for an unemployed worker to speak his mind.



The CWA News, Washington, D.C.
"See, nothing to worry about!"

CAREFUL AND QUIET: AFL-CIO president George Meany announced that "because of travel difficulties involved in bringing delegates from great distances," only 15 cities in the East would be asked to participate. In a letter to union leaders he said that all delegates would have to be screened carefully. Only those who saw it as a quiet meeting, he advised, should be chosen. At the conference, Meany said, only those with official credentials would be admitted because "elements outside labor will attempt to capitalize" on the meeting.

But there were signs that the unemployed felt the issue too keenly to leave it at that. In Buffalo, N.Y., a city not included by Meany, the CIO Industrial Council noted that Buffalo had the second highest unemployment rate in the country and voted to send delegates to Washington.

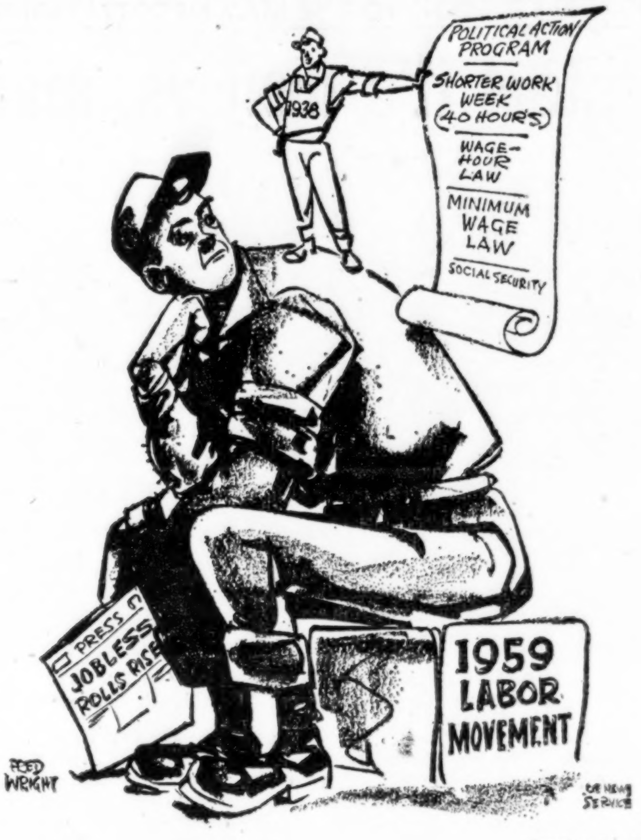
The Central Trades and Labor Council in Rochester, N.Y., also uninvited by Meany, invited itself.

MORE LAY-OFFS: Most extensive organizing for the conference came from the United Auto Workers. Employed union members were kicking in $1 each to send unemployed brothers as delegates. The unemployed were distributing leaflets at shop gates and employment offices. Union leaders at special meetings urged full participation. Dodge Local 3 in Detroit voted $500 to send 20 members.

Impetus for their drive came from the announcement of the lay-off of 5,000 workers at the Buick plant in Flint, Mich., and a cutback to a short week at General Motors' plants in Baltimore and in Van Nuys, Calif.

Reuther told a meeting of shop stewards that the conference was going to be a great demonstration: "We have got to shatter the complacency of that man in the White House."

But if Reuther was going to champion the unemployed, apparently it would have to be on his own terms. In his union he cracked down on the skilled trades councils (which had some degree of autonomy) after they had organized unemployed committees, published their own paper, sparked a 30-hour week campaign, and criticized censorship in the union. The idea of a march on Washington had come from them.



Drawing by Fred Wright
"Look what your Pappy did, son, with a membership one-fourth your size!"

WHAT THEY COULD DO: On orders from the executive board, Reuther's men moved on the council headquarters, changed the locks on the doors, took over funds, confiscated the newspaper, fired officers, took away their keys and ordered them "not to hang around any more." In place of the councils Reuther organized a skilled trades committee controlled from the top.

If union brass wanted it, there was plenty the conference in Washington could do. It could pressure Congress to call out of committee bills: (1) to raise the minimum wage to $1.25 an hour and cover more workers; (2) increase and standardise unemployment insurance compensation; (3) establish a 35-hour week. It could also fight for bills for greater housing and airport and school construction.

At a rally in Detroit, auto union secy.-treas. Emil Mazey said the Washington conference was the "only way to wake up both Republicans and Democrats. No one will do anything about unemployment but organized labor. We were told we won an election last year, but so far we haven't gotten a single result from it. The great march of 10,000 to 15,000 unemployed on Washington is right and is the only way to get results."

The AFL-CIO had hired a hall that holds only 5,000.

New Spring term opens at N.Y. Marxist school

LEON JOSEPHSON, Sidney Finkelstein, Victor Perlo, Hyman Lumer and Herbert Aptheker are among the teachers scheduled for classes in the new seven-week Spring Term at the Faculty of Social Science, 80 E. 11 St., beginning Mon., April 13 through Thurs., May 29.

Classes include: "Socialist Realism," "The Negro Question Today," "Current Labor Issues," "Elements of Marxism," and "Soviet Democracy." In addition, there will be ten other courses on "Marxism vs. Pragmatism," "American Political Parties," "New Theories of Capitalism," "Psychology and Society," "Latin America Today," and other topics of current interest.

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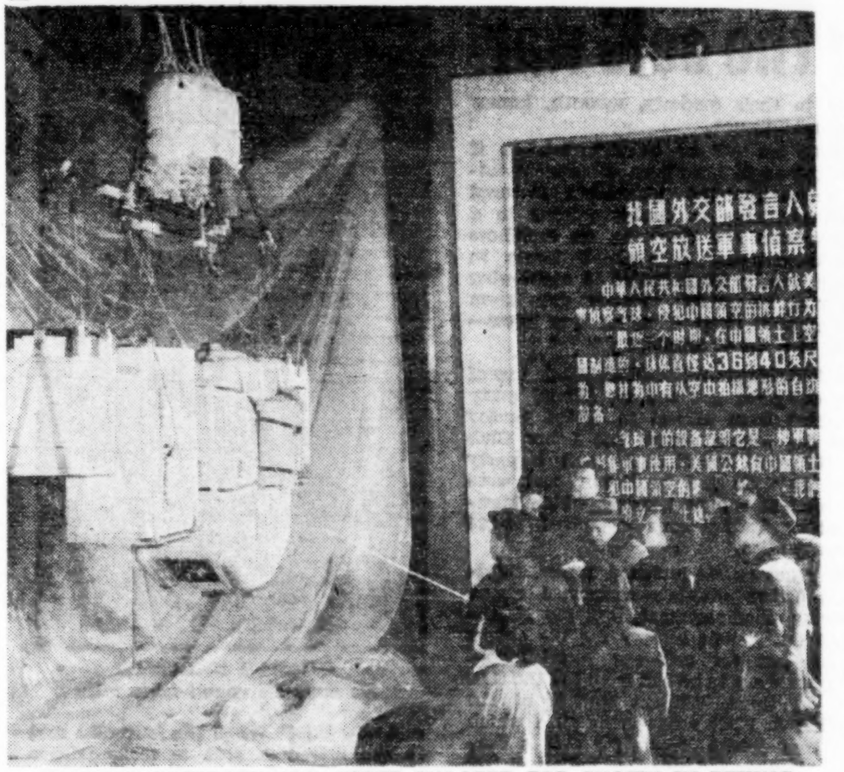
SPIES, BALLOONS, AGENTS, CAMERAS AND SABOTAGE, INC.—I

The Armenia plane incident: Was the CIA involved?

By Frank Bellamy

(First of three articles)



BALLOON ENVELOPE AND SUPER-SNOOPER RIG SHOWN IN PEKING
The Chinese say the equipment came off a downed American aircraft

ON SEPT 2, 1958, a four-engine U.S. transport plane took off from Adana, Turkey, on what was to have been, the Air Force said, a three-legged flight north toward the Black Sea, east to Van near the border of Soviet Armenia, and thence back to Adana.

The next day the Associated Press reported from Adana that the unarmed C-130 had "'disappeared" and that "an intensive search was underway" for the plane and the 17 men aboard. "Air Force officials so far did not suggest that the plane might have strayed over the Soviet border," the AP dispatch said.

Four days after the "disappearance," the State Dept. asked the Soviet government for information on the whereabouts of the plane and the 17. The Russians replied they had found a plane's wreckage 35 miles northwest of Yerevan, capital of Soviet Armenia. They turned over six bodies, four of which were identifiable as members of the C-130 crew, but insisted they had no information on the 11 others.

Nothing further was heard of the incident until January, 1959, when Vice President Nixon and Secy. Dulles told visiting Soviet Deputy Premier Mikoyan they believed that Moscow was withholding information on the 11 missing airmen. Mikoyan denied it.

THE TAPE RECORDING: Then on Feb. 6, with Mikoyan back in Moscow, the State Dept. released a transcript of what it said was a tape recording of an intercepted mid-air radio conversation among four Soviet fighter pilots attacking the transport plane five months before. The State Dept. said it was proof the Russians had shot down the plane.

Soviet reaction was sharp. A Moscow radio commentator called it a "clumsy farce . . . The fake is so transparent that a child could see through it. The script sounds as if it were written in Hollywood by someone who knew nothing of contemporary Russian language or even of fighter plane tactics . . . The State Dept. ought to employ better script writers for their forgeries."

The whole affair raised questions to which the State Dept. offered no answers:

- Why did the plane penetrate so deeply into Soviet territory—at the crash point it was nearly 150 miles off its projected course.
- Why, if the Air Force had overheard the Russian pilots shooting down the plane in Soviet territory, did it first report the plane had "disappeared" and "an intensive search was underway"?
- Why, if it intercepted the Soviet pilots' conversation, was it unable to record a message from the American plane—either to its home base or to the Soviet planes?
- Why didn't the State Dept. mention the tape recording to Mikoyan and invite him to listen to it? Was the release of the recording—as a few newspapers suggested—timed to drum up anti-Soviet sentiment and forestall British Prime Minister Macmillan's trip to Moscow? The N.Y. **Times** (Feb. 7) said: "There has been some speculation that the Government's action in making public the transcript of the conversation of the Soviet pilots was designed to stiffen U.S. and Western attitudes toward Moscow. Some commentators speculated that the move was aimed at halting the 'thaw' they professed to see in East-West relations."

ALTERNATIVES: Two possible alternatives to the State Dept. version were suggested. The first, and most obvious, was that the plane had developed mechanical or other failure and crashed accidentally, and the 11 missing airmen had perished without a trace in the explosion and flames. Such things do happen. The very same day as the Armenia crash, for instance, an American C-124 transport with 19 aboard fell in the Pacific off Guam and an air-sea search team could find no survivors.

The second, more provocative, possibility was that the C-130, designed as a paratroop carrier, deliberately flew into Soviet Armenia to drop espionage agents in a Central Intelligence Agency operation. In his Feb. 16 **Weekly**, I. F. Stone quoted a Washington **Star** reporter:

"American officials scoffed as expected at the idea that a C-130 transport, unarmed, slow and unmaneuverable, would be sent on a dangerous intelligence mission. Others wonder, however, whether just this kind of plane might not make a good 'cover,' particularly if agents were to be dropped."

SOME PRECEDENTS: Certainly there were precedents for such a strategy. One example: In November, 1952, an Air Force plane crashed in Manchuria. The Air Force said the plane had taken off for Seoul on a routine flight to Tokyo. How it got to Manchuria—nearly the opposite direction—never was explained satisfactorily.

Two non-uniformed men captured by the Chinese, Richard Fecteau and John T. Downey, were tried, convicted and sentenced as spies: they were accused of trying to drop supplies to, and make contact with, Chiang agents. A group of American youths, visiting China after the 1957 Moscow Youth Festival, interviewed Fecteau in prison and reported his statement that he and Downey were CIA agents.

That the lushly-financed, super-secret CIA is engaged in espionage and sabotage against the socialist world is hardly open to doubt any longer. Turkey, along with West Germany and Taiwan, is a favorite base for CIA espionage. Periodically CIA spies are caught after sneaking into Armenia. Sometimes they confess.

TASS REPORT: On Feb. 15, nine days after the State Dept. released the tape recording, the Soviet news agency **Tass** reported that several groups of agents of the U.S. and Turkish intelligence services had been captured after crossing from Turkey. **Said Tass:**

"The spies were selected and recruited by members of the Karakesen and Kars section of the Turkish Intelligence Service . . . American Intelligence agents instructed the agents in methods of carrying out subversive activities in the Soviet Union, as well as in the handling of firearms . . . The American agents carefully examined them to find out whether they carried any trade marks of American origin and sternly warned them that in case of capture in the Soviet Union they must not admit the part played by Americans in their training . . ."

The U.S. is known to maintain monitoring devices along the Armenian frontier to record the activities of Russian airplanes and military installations. American espionage knew the Soviets were testing outer space missiles long before the first sputnik soared into the headlines. Harry Howe Ransom, a Harvard social scientist and author of **Central Intelligence and National Security,** said in the **Christian Science Monitor** (12-1-58):

"In the case of Soviet sputniks, American Intelligence, since about 1954, by long-range radar tracking stations in Turkey and elsewhere, has kept a close electronic watch upon Soviet missile tests. Other bits and pieces of information are obtained by photo-reconnaissance, other advanced electronic devices, espionage, whatever can be gleaned from Soviet 'defectors,' and a wide range of other miscellaneous sources . . ."

THE BALLOONS: One snooping gadget Ransom neglected to mention was the balloon. U.S. balloon flights over Soviet territory reached a peak in early 1956. At that time Western correspondents in Moscow were shown 50 balloons the Russians said had been intercepted while on aerial reconnaissance missions for the U.S. It was charged that air wrecks and ground deaths were caused by exploding balloons.

Although Washington avowed that the balloons carried only weather-recording equipment, the correspondents noted radios to control the balloons' flight. The Russians said the radios enabled the balloons to cross the entire breadth of the Soviet Union in seven to ten days and then release aerial cameras by parachute into friendly hands.

The aerial cameras were to take photographs of cloud formations, the U.S. said. The Russians said they also took photographs of Russian topography. One captured balloon yielded very clear pictures of a U.S. airfield in Turkey.

THE DOUBTED WORD: Washington acknowledged that 500 of the gas-bags had been launched in less than a month from points in Western Europe and Turkey, denied the Soviet charges, but agreed to stop the flights.

That it did not keep its word was attested to—another coincidence in time—last Sept. 3, one day after the Armenia plane crash, when Moscow complained anew of U.S. balloon invasions. Three days later the "State Dept. confirmed that the balloons probably were there. . ." (N.Y. **Times**, Sept. 7).

The **Times'** Hanson Baldwin wrote (2-19-56) that the most serious aftermath of the 1956 balloon incident was "the doubt cast upon the word of the U.S. government." He said the Russians "had some pretty hard evidence . . . to convince them that the Washington answer was not the whole truth."

The question was: If Washington could not be trusted to tell the whole truth on the balloon flights, could its word be taken on the Armenia plane crash?

NEXT WEEK: Cloak and dagger stuff.

STUDENTS!

The May 4 issue of the GUARDIAN will be a special issue devoted to books and periodicals, and will be of unusual interest to students. The GUARDIAN is seeking wider distribution on campuses. On the ten or 12 campuses where it is now being distributed it has won many new friends—and subs.

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—**The Guardian**

NOTE: This offer is open to other individuals and groups too.

Dr. Lee Janis, long ill, dies in New York at 43

DR. LEE D. JANIS, 43, well-known in progressive medical circles, died March 26 at Long Island College Hospital in Brooklyn, after a long illness. He lived at 8 Remsen St., Brooklyn.

A specialist in pediatrics and public health administration, Dr. Janis served between 1948 and 1951 as medical director for the American Joint Distribution Committee in Paris. He helped organize the JDC's "Magic Carpet" program which flew Jews out of Yemen to Israel.

He served as a surgeon with rank of major in the U.S. Public Health Service from 1942 to 1948 and made a special survey of health conditions in post-war Japan for the PHS. In 1952 and 1953 he served as director of the Menorah Medical Center in Kansas City, Mo. Thereafter he engaged in private practice in New York as a pediatrician.

GAITSKELL AND BEVAN TO RUSSIA NEXT

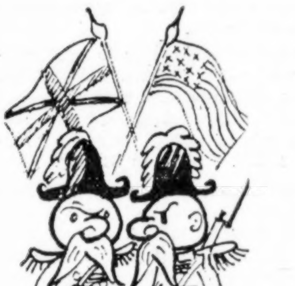
Soviet delegation to Britain brings a thaw in the cold war

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

IN A QUIET and casual-seeming way, a recent ten-day visit to Britain by a Soviet parliamentary delegation has been one of the most effective engagements in the war against the cold war.

Sponsored by Left Laborites in the Anglo-Russian Parliamentary Committee, the groundwork for the visit had been laid by Konni Zilliacus, MP, in his talks with Soviet leaders in Moscow in 1956. After Macmillan's recent Moscow journey, which on the eve of elections made Labor look somewhat foolish, the top Laborites had reason for gratitude for the initiative of the left-wingers.



Dyad, Daily Worker, London

"If necessary we must force our way into Berlin by negotiations."

The friendliness of the six Soviet MP's, who concentrated on contacts with the labor movement on all levels, proved catching. One result is that Labor Party leaders Hugh Gaitskell and Aneurin Bevan will shortly be visiting the U.S.S.R.

But trade unionists among the Soviet MP's also invited British union leaders to come and study for themselves the unions in the U.S.S.R.; and for the first time a fraternal visit is on the agenda by a really balanced delegation from the Trades Union Congress, including right-wingers who have traditionally denounced Soviet labor organizations as a fake.

GOOD CHAPS: The unofficial sponsorship of the Soviet delegation proved helpful: protocol was unnecessary, and the visitors had time and opportunity to visit British workers in factories and homes. There were no hostile demonstrations and they were cordially received everywhere.

Many of the Britons who met delegation leader Mikhail Suslov did not realize that they were shaking the hand of the No. 2 man in the Soviet Communist Party, who might well some day head the government of the U.S.S.R. (Suslov, however, went out of his way to stress that they had not come "as Communists" but as MP's.) The Russians moved around without fanfare or special police arrangements, and from all sides tributes were paid to their modesty, warmth, humor and intelligence.

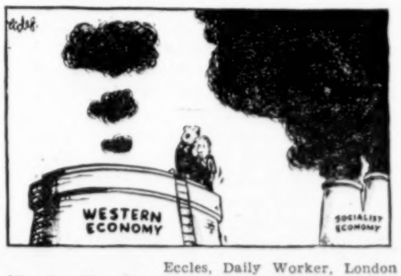
With an air of wonderment, as if nothing could have been more unexpected, accompanying journalists featured such incidents as Suslov joining in a darts game and removing his overshoes before entering a worker's house in rainy, muddy Manchester. A right-wing reporter remarked: "Really does seem like a good chap—obliging, you know—goes to a lot of trouble."

MANCHESTER BANQUET: While two of the delegates got the traditional gusty welcome from miners in Wales, Suslov and the others visited the Labor Club in Zilliacus' constituency and a party meeting addressed by Bevan and were honored at a civic banquet which Manchester's Lord Mayor organized at 24 hours' notice.

Banquet guests included Tories, right-wing Labor officials concerned about growing unemployment, and top Northern industrialists hungry for the orders which—but for cold-war restrictions—they know are to be had from the U.S.S.R. One of these, William Mather of the Mather & Platt engineering firm which has traded with Russia for over a century, had just landed a million-dollar Soviet contract for fish-canning and tire-factory equipment.

Speeches on both sides calling for better understanding, and recalling the old days of the anti-Hitler alliance, were heartily and sometimes emotionally hear-heared. At other informal gatherings the Soviet guests made friends with leaders of the Co-Operative movement, who recalled their efforts to set up trade relations in the early years after 1917 when British financiers were trying to boycott and starve out the Soviets.

COMMON GROUND: On world political issues which were discussed at length, Labor Party leaders and the Soviet delegates found unresolvable differences in some areas but common ground on such points as the importance of peaceful co-existence, rejection of "negotiation from strength," the danger of a German militarist revival.



Eccles, Daily Worker, London

"Looks like they're trying to make this a smokeless zone!"

At a meeting with the party's foreign affairs group, Bevan addressed the guests as "Comrade" Suslov, etc., and his colleagues followed suit. Party, trade union and Co-Op leaders alike were impressed by what they were told about the Soviet seven-year plan and the trade unions' role in implementing it.

Gaitskell left the discussions wreathed in smiles, and was a glowing guest at the Soviet Embassy farewell party for the delegation. Two notoriously right-wing union bosses praised the Russians' "straightforwardness." There was a general feeling that—as the **Observer** commented—the Soviet CP was paying the Labor Party a tribute by "recognizing the importance of getting on well" with it.

HOPES FULFILLED: U.S. Embassy "observers," in any event, were ruffled and feverishly seeking to "analyze" what was happening to the cold war. One of them fretfully remarked to a journalist who covered the tour: "What the hell are you British getting at—first Mac in Russia, and now this?" When the journalist said it was merely a visit to make friends with the labor movement the U.S. Embassy attache snapped: "Don't you believe it—the government got the Labor Party to do this!"

On the general public, Suslov had made a major impact as a big-shot who never acted like one. Julius Silverman, MP, chairman of the host committee, summed him up: "He is in no way a 'showman' in the Khrushchev or Churchill class—a very careful man in public speaking, but with an openness on the personal level which is rare among politicians. We sought to establish better contact between the labor movement of Britain and the U.S.S.R., and Suslov and his colleagues have exceeded our highest hopes in the job they have done."

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GHANA'S NKRUMAH

He suggests round-table talks

IN NEW YORK:

Annette Rubinstein reception on April 19

A RECEPTION in honor of Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein will be held Sunday, April 19, at 7:30 p.m. in the ballroom of the Hotel Manhattan Towers, Broadway at 76th St., sponsored by the United Independent-Socialist Committee.

GUARDIAN's General Manager John T. McManus, who with Dr. Rubinstein represented the UI-S ticket in the 1958 New York State elections, will preside. Poet Eve Merriam will speak on Dr. Rubinstein's contribution to literature and Dr. Howard Selsam on her teaching career.

Stage and screen actor Howard da Silva will present the contribution of three generations of the Rubinsteins to the community of New York City, to education and to the socialist movement. Dr. Rubinstein will discuss possibilities of united political action based on impressions gained during her current national lecture tour. Refreshments will be served.

Tickets at $1.50 are obtainable from United Independent-Socialist Committee, Rm. 238, 799 Broadway, or by phoning GR 5-9738 between 12-6 p.m.

Memorial for Bayer in New York Apr. 26

ARRANGEMENTS are being made for a memorial meeting for Theodore Bayer, secretary of the Natl. Council of American-Soviet Friendship, who died March 7. The meeting will be held in New York on the afternoon of April 26 under the auspices of the Council. Exact time and place will be announced soon.

'WHITE PAPER' FIZZLES

Britons continue protests against terror in Africa

LONDON

IN ATTEMPTED justification of the repression and killings of Central African nationalists, the British government published March 23 a "white paper" in the form of a report from the Governor of Nyasaland. According to the report, Dr. Hastings Banda and other jailed Nyasaland African Congress leaders had planned wholesale murder of Europeans, Asians and Africans.

The **Manchester Guardian** summed up moderate British reaction by calling the "evidence" "too thin to carry weight"; with regard to the charges against Banda, it commented: "This must be the first time in two centuries when, except in war, an elder of the Church of Scotland planned a campaign of mass murdeer."

In S. Rhodesia the British missionary Guy Clutton-Brock, director of an inter-racial cooperative community there and an African Natl. Congress member, was released after a month in jail. His arrest had caused a storm of protest in Britain, and his wife was reported seriously ill with a "mental breakdown" ever since. Earlier, rejecting an offer of freedom on condition he leave the country forever, he had accused the S. Rhodesian authorities of "bartering with my wife's health."

RALLY IN LONDON: As man-hunts and arrests continued in Nyasaland, Prime Minister Nkrumah offered Ghana's good offices to effect a settlement. He suggested "a round-table conference to work out a new constitution," but stressed that all political prisoners must first be freed and their organizations re-legalized.

In London a mass protest meeting organized by African groups and the Movement for Colonial Freedom was addressed by John Stonehouse, the MP who was ejected from Central Africa; Nyasaland African leader Kanyama Chiume; and Joshua Nkomo, S. Rhodesia leader who had been in Cairo when his colleagues were arrested.

The two Africans were lustily cheered by a multi-racial audience of 1,500, and baited by jingoist hecklers who raised banners demanding they be hanged for treason. Two stewards were hospitalized for injuries received in controlling the hecklers. More than $1,000 was collected for a Central African aid and defense fund, including contributions in U.S., Portuguese, Russian, Irish, Turkish, Sudanese and Yugoslav currency.

DEATHS IN KENYA: Barbara Castle, MP, this year's Labor Party chairman, called for her party to make the colonial issue "the great challenge to this government" in the forthcoming elections. Chiume and Nkomo emphasized that their people were not anti-European, but that if Europeans in Africa didn't like democracy "the door is open—go somewhere else."

In Kenya an inquest was held on 11 African political prisoners who, after "resisting discipline and rehabilitation," were said to have been "prevailed on" to work on trench-digging under guard of 60 warders and 30 riot-squad men armed with batons. A police pathologist told the Mombasa coroner's court that there appeared to have been "a general beating-up"; the prisoners had "all died through violence . . . either from lung congestion or shock and hemorrhage following multiple bruising and other injuries."

NEGROES NOW A MAJORITY IN THE CAPITAL

Why home rule is denied to Washington, D.C.

By Louis E. Burnham

THE ROLL IS CALLED IN AN INTEGRATED KINDERGARTEN IN WASHINGTON
The schools are desegregated, but rigid housing jimcrow intensifies many existing problems

ON JULY 16, 1790, Congress enacted a law establishing the District of Columbia as the "temporary and permanent seat of Government of the United States." The site had been surveyed by a team of three men, including Benjamin Banneker, the Maryland Negro mathematician who issued annual almanacs and conducted correspondence with Thomas Jefferson. From that day to this the nation's rulers have considered the presence of Negroes in the capital a sort of necessary embarrassment.

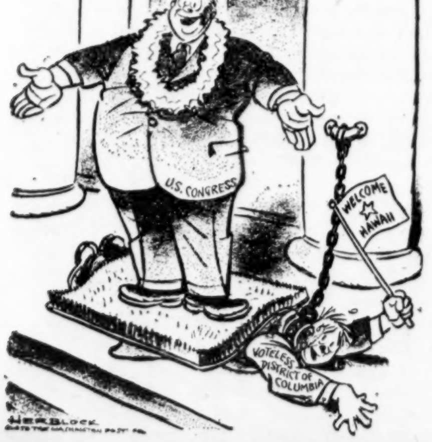
Negroes were a third of the District's population when the Government moved its apparatus from Philadelphia to the beautiful city on the shore of the Potomac and the edge of the South. Their numbers and fortunes have fluctuated with alterations in their people's position throughout the nation and particularly in the ex-slave states.

ALARM IS SOUNDED: During the last three decades Negroes have moved into the capital in such numbers and whites have fled to neighboring suburbs in such haste that for the first time in history Negroes make up a majority of the District population. Census figures show that they were 28% of all capital residents in 1940. This figure had risen to 38% in 1950 and 45% in 1956. On March 1 the Commissioners of the District of Columbia released a census estimate which placed the white population at 387,000, a drop of 72,000 from three years ago. In the same period the Negro population had risen by 62,000 to an unprecedented 438,000. The percentages now were 47% white and 53% non-white.

The announcement of the shift gave rise to a number of public alarms. It also abetted some popular misconceptions dear to the Southern segregationists: (1) that the population shift is the result of the Supreme Court's 1954 ruling and the consequent desegregation of Washington's public schools; (2) that, with desegregation, the schools in the capital have steadily deteriorated.

WHY THEY CAME: The fact is that the forces which propelled Negroes out of the South in the most recent migration began with World War II and were primarily economic. Thousands of young men and women settled in the capital to join the lower echelons of the government bureaucracy. Thousands more, displaced from their farms by machines and barred from new Southern industries by prejudice, flocked to Washington to work at any job they could find.

The long-standing ghettos which ring the downtown areas of the capital could not hold them. As they spilled over into blighted neighborhoods previously reserved for whites, property owners and builders gathered the harvest which is the usual fruit of jimcrow housing. Since Negroes were unable to find housing everywhere, they soon overcrowded the few properties abandoned to them by white residents. Landlords, knowing their new tenants had little choice, made small fortunes by hiking rents and refusing to spend money for upkeep.



Herblock, Washington Post
"ALOHA"

Watching their old neighborhood turn into a new slum, white residents have moved to the Virginia and Maryland environs of the district.

SCHOOL FIGURES: As a result, the radical change in the racial composition of the District's population has not affected the Negro-white ratio in the larger metropolitan area, which includes the District. In 1930 75% of this population was white; today it is 76%. During the past decade the suburban population has increased by nearly 500,000, almost all white.

The population change is most dramatically revealed in figures on public school enrollment. While Negroes are 53% of the District population, their children account for 74.1% of all those attending public school. This is explained by the higher child-bearing rate of impoverished Negro families which come to Washington from Southern rural areas, and by the fact that the out-migration of whites is heaviest among the most productive age group, those from 18 to 44.

A COMMON PATTERN: Far from being the result of school integration, the disproportionate number of Negro children in the capital's schools is directly traceable to residential segregation. The Washington **Post** recently pointed out that Negro school population gain is also outstripping that of whites in such Southern citadels of segregation as Charleston, S.C., and Atlanta, Ga. In Atlanta Negro children are now 40% of the school enrollment and are expected to constitute half by 1961. In Charleston they have reached 69% of the total.

The population trend in Washington follows the pattern evident in large urban communities throughout the country, North or South, integrated or segregated. While the abandonment of low-income central-city white communities to lower-income Negro families does not create new problems, it does intensify old ones. Further, it tends to frustrate genuine attempts at integration of schools and other social facilities.

A MATTER OF POVERTY: School officials in the Capital point out that the heavy load of social problems which they tackle is due not to the co-existence of Negro and white children in the same schools, but to the growing preponderance in the classrooms of children of the poor, most of whom are Negroes.

Per capita income in Washington dropped from $2,339 in 1952 to $2,220 in 1954 despite a rise in the country as a whole. In 1954 the average Negro family income was $3,700 in the District, or $1,250 less than white family income. A recent report shows that the schools receive each month about 700 requests for clothes and more than 600 requests for shoes to permit needy children to attend classes.

PROBLEMS OF ALL: When segregation prevailed these problems could be shrugged off as the special worry of Negro officials of the Negro school system. Now they are the problems of the entire school board, of District officials and of Congress which has the final say-so on matters relating to the capital.

Despite all the problems, desegregation has been an aid, not a drawback, in solving the educational problems of the District. The Washington **Post** points out that "with desegregation educational opportunities and attainment have consistently improved." Inspector John E. Winters of the Youth Aid Division of the Metropolitan Police Dept. told the **Post** that "genuine racial incidents are few and far between and the number is dropping steadily." He emphasized: "Our caseload would be just as heavy if the schools were segregated."

A BIASED REPORT: These and other facts belie the contention of the Southern-dominated House District Affairs Committee that the social problems of the District flow from integration and can be solved by a return to segregation. The Committee in 1956 issued a majority report peppered with misleading information and false conclusions; the document has been used as a sort of jimcrow Bible by white supremacists seeking to stave off integration further South.

Despite the report's obvious bias, it continues to gain credence for lack of a comprehensive statement of the truth about the capital's social problems and proposals for a fundamental solution. The **Post** suggests a proper distribution of luxury, medium-priced and low-cost housing. Their aim would be to restore a more acceptable population balance by replacing city slums with medium-rental dwellings and moving low-cost projects to the suburbs from which Negroes are now excluded. Experience would seem to show that such housing patchwork gets at the symptom but not the cause of the problem.

So long as Negroes cannot get jobs open to whites; so long as they are barred from unions of white workers; so long as the Government fails to penalize discrimination in Federal employment; so long as rent-gouging landlords can reap a harvest in the jimcrow housing racket—just so long will the problem remain and worsen.

THEY HAVE NO VOICE: Official toleration of discrimination during post-war years of general prosperity has served to fix the mass of Negroes in a color-caste position marked by the common scourge of poverty. They remain the nation's "untouchables" and school integration will not succeed fully anywhere until jimcrow and the profit it provides are eliminated everywhere.

The situation in the capital is further complicated by the fact that Washington residents have no voice in ordering their own affairs. They are virtual vassals of Congress with no vote, no authority to determine policies or measures of municipal administration, and no power to tax the more than $1,000,000,000 worth of real estate occupied by the Federal government.

The widespread Congressional attitude toward the management of the Capital's affairs was summed up by Senator Harry Truman when he wrote: "I did not stay on the District of Columbia Committee because I had no interest in becoming a local alderman."

STATEHOOD FOP D.C.? Thus, though Alaska and Hawaii have recently been admitted to statehood, it is generally conceded that the franchise for the 840,000 residents of the District is farther away than ever. And Washington is kept voteless for the same reason that Negroes are denied the franchise in Macon County, Ala., Sunflower County, Miss., or Liberty County, Ga. The fear is that elections would result in a Negro mayor or council, Negro Congressmen and Negro functionaries welcoming distinguished visitors from abroad.

Congress seems bent on insisting that this land remain, in substance and in form, a white man's country in a world of rising darker peoples.

BOOKS

For the Abolitionists of the 20th century

She risked everything that is dear to man—friends, fortune, comfort, health, life itself, all for the one absorbing desire of her heart, that slavery be abolished and the Union be preserved.

THIS INSCRIPTION on a boulder marking a grave in Richmond, Va., is recalled in the dedication of Janet Stevenson's poignant Civil War novel, **Weep No More,*** to its resourceful, real-life heroine, Elizabeth Van Lew. From her family's shabby-genteel Virginia farmhouse, a "station" on the Underground Railroad in the years leading up to the war, Elizabeth, a thirtyish spinster, became "Crazy Bet" in the war years, bringing comforts and Bibles to the prison housing Union captives, gabbling Abolition, while she acted as a most effective observer of Confederate military movements for the benefit of the Union.

The moral opposition to slavery, and indeed to race discrimination, in the founding and growing years of the nation have been meanly obscured, even denigrated, as the basic ideal which brought the anti-slavery fight to its climax in the Civil War. The extent to which this blacking-out process has gone in our historiography is indicated in the foreword by historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. to a reissue this year of Dwight Lowell Dumond's 1939 work, **Antislavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States.**** Schlesinger writes:

". . . what Mr. Dumond so well understands is what Abraham Lincoln meant when he said, 'Without the institution of slavery, and the colored race as a basis, the war could not have an existence.'

"To sensible people looking back at the Civil War, Lincoln's remark may not seem particularly arresting. But a generation of 'revisionist' historians arose to reject the full implications of the Lincoln thesis: this revisionism, which for a moment held sway in the historical guild, ended almost by revising slavery out of existence as a prime cause . . .

ARTHUR B. SPINGARN specifies "the fulminations of Owsley, Coulter and their ilk" as an excellent reason for an antidote such as Dumond's book. And of course, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, in his master-work, **Black Reconstruction in America** (originally published in 1935, four years before Dumond's work, and reissued in 1956 by S. A. Russell Co., 80 E. 11 St., N.Y.C., $6.50), lists some 24 historians as "standard—anti-Negro."

It is difficult—almost impossible—to deflect the influence of these historians from yourself or your children, since they have been the main influence in American history writing as it has been used in our schools for generations.

It is neither difficult nor impossible, however, to counteract them. Dumond's attractive paperback reissue is one way currently at hand. Another is Beacon Press' current paperback reprint of Henrietta Buckmaster's **Let My People Go,***** subtitled "The Story of the Underground Railroad and the Growth of the Abolition Movement." Born in Ohio, where the Underground Railroad is a great legend as it is in Western New York and New England, Miss Buckmaster writes in a new preface for the Beacon Press reprint of her book, first published in 1941:

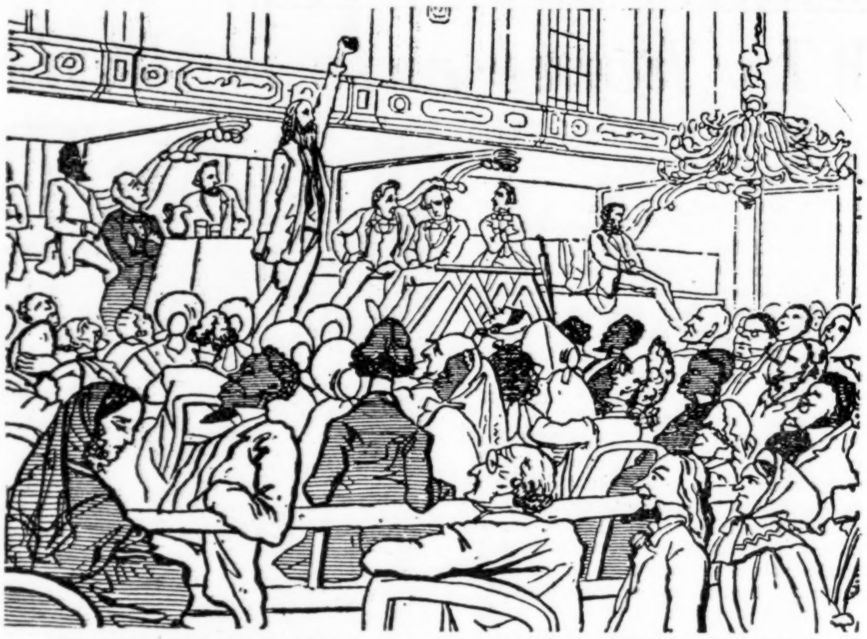
"In the old newspaper files, court records, diaries, letters, and books with which I spent my days, I discovered something which might also be called the **mystique** of the United States. It set me afire with the conviction that if we knew more about the courage, faith, idealism, and practical good sense which went into the fight against the monolithic slave power, we would be better equipped to deal with present problems."

AS HER PREFACE promises, Miss Buckmaster's book is full of high adventure and even some improbability (as the Abolition horse who knew her 18-mile route so well that she "pushed open the gate with her nose and trotting down the lane, deposited her cargo safely among friends.") Yet in these pages, you can breathe the excitement and share the high purpose of the great men and women, Negro and white, who perceived in their time a moral Olympus and brought their country to its summit.

As I read a book for review, I mercilessly dog-ear pages from which I may want to recall incidents, passages or facts. Miss Buckmaster's book is so dog-eared that it would take this whole page and more to detail the references. The Abolitionist horse was one; another, the departure of the Lane (Cincinnati) Seminary Abolitionist "rebels" to Oberlin, newly founded in the north of Ohio where they chose as president a southerner, Asa Mahan. He refused to serve unless Negroes were admitted—and so they were at pioneering Oberlin, earlier the first U.S. college to admit women!

Meet Arthur Tappan, rich New York "railroader" for whom three southern states offered rewards totalling $35,000 —to collect which a posse of 18 South Carolina men sailed into New York Harbor to try to capture him . . . Elijah Lovejoy, shot down by a mob in the door of his printshop in Alton, Ill. . . . James G. Birney, Alabama slaveholder converted from "Colonization" to Abolition . . . Levi Coffin of North Carolina, who saw 3,000 fugitives to freedom (and whose experiences provided the original, true story of **Uncle Tom's Cabin**).

As valuable as any of its contents is the 13-pp. bibliography to which Miss Buckmaster referred for her material. Especially singled out is the work of the late historian Carter G. Woodson, founder of Negro History Week. The book is thoroughly indexed making it an excellent reference work.



ABOLITIONIST CONVENTION—A SKETCH FROM HARPER'S WEEKLY
This drawing was reproduced from Howard P. Nash's "Third Parties in American Politics" (Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C.)

DUMOND'S ANTISLAVERY ORIGINS does not seek to be an adventure book (though it can hardly avoid being one) but rather sets out to demonstrate the author's thesis that the uprooting of slavery was "the unfinished task of the founding fathers" and that the anti-slavery movement was "an intellectual and religious crusade for moral reform. The defense of slavery was of a social institution and a system of racial adjustment, not of an economic institution."

Dumond's chapter, "Slavery and the Constitution," collects the historical evidence and argument that the ultimate elimination of slavery was implied in the Constitution, that any other interpretation would make the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence irreconcilable.

"To suppose," said James G. Birney, presenting this argument in the 1830's, "before the dust and sweat of the Revolution was well wiped away from those men, that they would falsify the principles for which they risked their lives in consenting to fasten slavery **forever** on the weakest of their fellow creatures . . . is what I will not do, except on testimony that cannot be overthrown—testimony that I have never yet seen or heard."

In support of Birney, Dumond shows that Franklin, then head of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, presented a petition to the first Congress for freeing the slaves; and that, of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention, only those from Georgia and South Carolina were "recalcitrant", all others in one degree or another endorsing "the expectation of slavery's early extinction."

DUMOND TRACES the evolution of anti-slavery organization from the Colonization effort—with often outspoken white supremacy motivating its efforts to send both freed slaves and free Negroes to Liberia—to the higher ideals of the Abolition movement; and ultimately to the political action efforts which finally led to Lincoln's victory as the Republican candidate in 1860.

Dumond credits Zebina Eastman's Abolition paper **The Western Citizen** with much influence on Lincoln, since every issue of it reached him during the Lincoln-Douglas debates. He concludes that "old ideas about Lincoln not being Abolitionist and his elevation to power not being a menace to the institution of slavery are wholly wrong."

Beyond this, he cites a letter of Zebina Eastman, written after the Civil War, to show that "Lincoln belonged to that group of anti-slavery men—a not inconsiderable number—who foresaw the impossibility of overthrowing slavery except by war." Lincoln's readiness for this eventuality as a consequence of his election was indicated by his ordering troops into Fort Pickens five days after his inauguration "with the certain knowledge that war would result."

IF LATER HISTORIANS have obscured the implications of Lincoln's election, the opposition South at the time did not. Dumond quotes from the Kentucky **Statesman** of Jan. 6, 1860—a year before the secession of any state—that a Republican victory would mean repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, reversal of the Dred Scott decision, abolition of slavery in the territories and exclusion of any more slave states; abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, prohibition of interstate slave trade; and unceasing war on the institution in the slave states.

Dumond's work concludes with the outbreak of the war. A greater work like Dr. DuBois' **Black Reconstruction** recounts what happened in the immediate years thereafter. C. Vann Woodward's **The Strange Career of Jim Crow** shows how the slave South rose again to reverse reconstruction and reinstitute in a new form the South's "peculiar institution".

A review such as this cannot hope to arm the conscientious American family with the facts with which to fight and destroy the new slavery of the new South. A well-read shelf of the kind of books discussed here, now offered anew through the awareness of publishers of their new validity, is one way to keep an arsenal of facts within reach of any family of 20th Century Abolitionists.

—**John T. McManus**

**WEEP NO MORE, by Janet Stevenson. Viking Press, N.Y.C., 1957. 313 pp. $3.95. A small supply of the Liberty Book Club edition is available at $1.25 postpaid; 100 W. 23 St., N.Y. 11.*

***ANTISLAVERY ORIGINS OF THE CIVIL WAR IN THE UNITED STATES, by Dwight Lowell Dumond. Ann Arbor Paperbacks, University of Michigan Press. 130 pp. $1.65.*

****LET MY PEOPLE GO, by Henrietta Buckmaster. Beacon Press, Boston. 398 pp. Paper. $1.95.*

A bit more on 'Yugoslavia's Way'

Through a makeup error several paragraphs of Scott Nearing's review of Yugoslavia's Way *(All Nations Press, 660 First Av., New York 16, N.Y., 263 pp., $4.50) in the GUARDIAN (March 30) were left out. We print the omitted section below.*

YUGOSLAVIA'S WAY* contains the program adopted by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Necessarily it is a collective work, submitted as a draft to the Seventh Congress in 1958, and passed after prolonged discussion.

"We live in times when freedom or serfdom, poverty or riches, retrogression or progress, war or peace . . . directly determine the life and the future of all men and peoples. . . . We live in times of the most profound, most universal revolutionary changes of human society . . . in times which require of man supreme and organized social, political and creative action . . .

"We belong to the working class and the people who, through revolution and creation of socialist relations of society, have entered a new epoch of their history. . . . We have always fought to be an equal part of the international labor movement. . . . We have assisted, as much as we could, every action for peace, freedom and socialism. . . . We have already won the decisive victory for the future we want . . .

"We have set ourselves still more complex and more difficult tasks. . . . In order to fulfill our historic role in creating a socialist society in our country, we must dedicate all our strength to this goal, be critical toward ourselves and our work, irreconcilable enemies of all dogmatism, and true to the revolutionary creative spirit of Marxism." These quotations, taken from the final section of the Program, summarize its outlook and purpose.

Summit roadblocks

(Continued from Page 1)

obligatory in face of the horrors of a nuclear war. Macmillan said:

"I cannot go to the Queen and ask for approval of the evacuation of millions, many of them children, to far places of the Commonwealth, until I have exhausted every other possibility."

Macmillan's eagerness for a top-level conference and his apparent willingness to recognize the East German government and to seek means for East-West military disengagement in Central Europe seemed to infuriate Bonn's Chancellor Adenauer. He told a group of politicians:

"These British! They should learn that they cannot lead on the Continent any longer. Germany and France are the leaders of the continent."

AN OVERNIGHT JOB: Adenauer's anger was understandable, even as it underscored the reason for Moscow's urgency for an early summit meeting. The old Chancellor foresaw in Macmillan's attitude the possible doom of his ambitious rearmament plan. West German rearmament is so far advanced, **Times'** Bonn correspondent Arthur J. Olsen reported, that "West Germany will be ready this year to turn into an atomic military power overnight."

Olsen noted that West Germany's "status as a military power and armaments producer" is rapidly acquiring the same dominating position within the West European community as its economic and financial power. Under the relentless drive of aggressive Defense Minister Franz Josef Strauss, West Germany is on its way to the designing and building of aircraft, destroyers and submarines.

Negotiations are nearly complete, Olsen said, for West Germany, France and Italy jointly to manufacture the American low-altitude anti-aircraft rocket Hawk. Production of a new "European" tank and other missile systems is foreseen in the near future. Olsen said: "More and more heavy arms will be turned out in West Germany, because it has the investment capital and production lines to do the job."

STRAUSS AT HEART: The Bundeswehr (armed forces) has already got its first atomic missiles. Its troops at U.S. training bases are learning how to operate and service the weapons. The West German air force is already flying fighter-bombers capable of delivering nuclear bombs. Strauss' increasing impatience for domestic arms production, Olsen said, has "set some observers wondering where Herr Strauss is heading . . . The implication is that the 42-year-old Defense Minister, possibly a future Chancellor, may be a German nationalist at heart."

Bonn was expected to fight hard for its views—with French support—at the Western foreign ministers' meeting and NATO's tenth anniversary meeting, both of which began in Washington last week. These meetings were to hammer out the Western position for the May 11 foreign ministers' conference. While the Western powers have been unenthusiastic about Polish and Czechoslovak demands for a voice in deciding the future of Germany, the smaller NATO nations gave notice on March 28 that they want important roles in any discussion about Germany.

MOSCOW PROPOSES: On the eve of the NATO meeting, the Soviet government in a 3,000-word statement indicated it might be willing to broaden the scope of a top-level conference, as the West has insisted.

Moscow was "ready to participate in the examination of such questions" as: (1) disengagement of East-West armed forces in Central Europe; (2) staged reduction of armaments; (3) suspension of nuclear weapons tests, as well as (4) its own proposals for a peace treaty with the two German governments and the demilitarization of West Berlin.

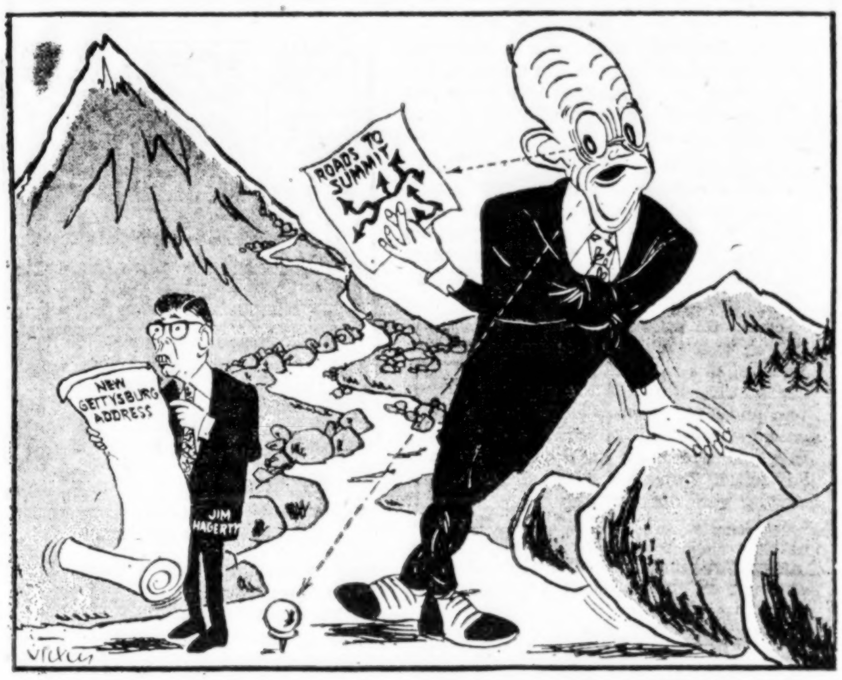
It specifically noted that a non-aggression treaty between NATO and the Warsaw Pact organization would relax tension immeasurably.

In a briefer note following this statement, the Soviet government officially replied to the Western powers' March 26 note to Moscow. It agreed to the foreign ministers' conference, to be followed by a summit meeting.

THE LINEUP: The positions of the major powers were fairly discernible last week.

- Moscow was eager for a genuine reliable relaxation of tension in order to devote its energies solely to the fulfillment of the seven-year plan.
- London seemed willing to make some concessions without giving too much offense to Washington.
- Paris was opposed to any steps that might weaken its hold on its remaining colonies and disturb its dream of restoring French "grandeur."
- Bonn was determined to become the dominant economic and military power in Western Europe.

In this situation, Washington's position would be crucial. With an uninformed President and an ailing Secretary of State whose inflexible views still dominate U.S. foreign policy, the burden of guiding this country in the direction of peaceful and fruitful negotiations seemed more than ever to fall on the shoulder of an informed American public.



Vicky in Daily Express, London

"The President has agreed to be flexible while standing firm, not to budge an inch while exploring every avenue, to leave no stone unturned while keeping an eye on the ball, etc."

Swan song in missileland

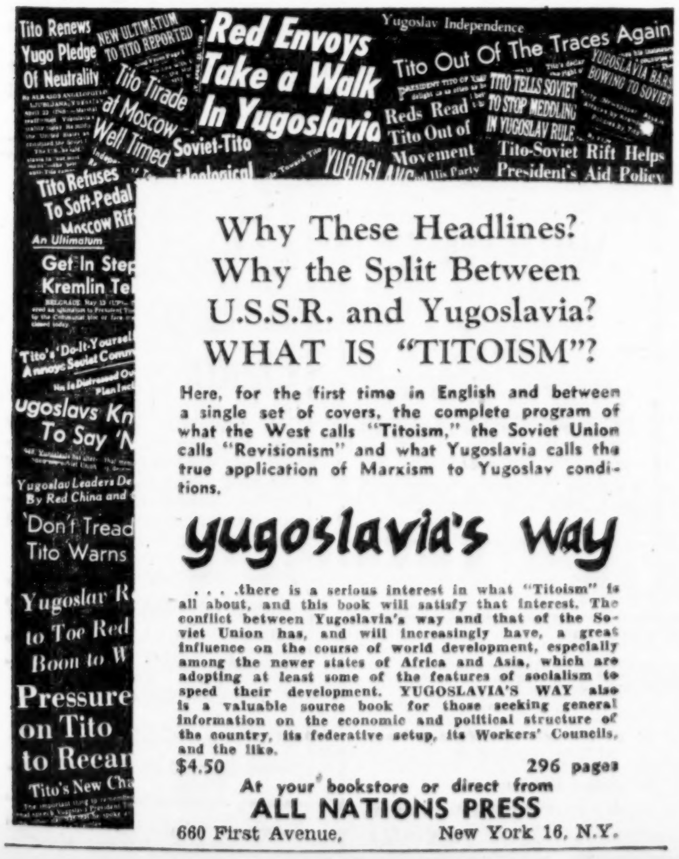
THE ASSOCIATED PRESS (3/21), quoted IBM space programs manager Dr. A. R. J. Grosch and Lockheed Aircraft Corp. researcher Dr. Louis J. Ridenour at a space exploration conference at the California Institute of Technology on March 20:

GROSCH: "Our missile program is the swan song of a dying civilization. We are planning to spend millions of dollars a year on new missiles and space probes. And I ask, why? Why must we continue to shovel these millions into companies that are interested primarily not in new scientific knowledge but in their 7% profit? That 7% alone would go a long way toward solving the social problems that create warfare . . . If we [stopped making missiles] we wouldn't need new worlds to colonize. We are in a bad way, I'm afraid, when we try to solve our problem by mass killing—or by paddling off to a bigger island in space."

DR. RIDENOUR: "We turn in our cars before they are worn out, and our nation would go broke if we didn't..Our missile program fits into the system very well. We send up missiles that never come back and so we have to make more missiles. This is fine. It creates jobs and keeps money in circulation.

"In the not-too-distant future, man will be boarding the other fellow's satellites and destroying them. This means more satellites must be built, and the economy is kept functioning at top speed."

Grosch's remarks were greeted with thunderous applause. IBM hurrierdly stated that he was not speaking for the company.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The fall-out story

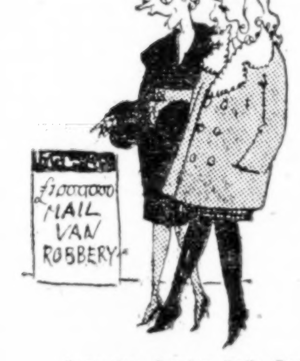
(Continued from Page 1)

that none fell back into the earth's atmosphere? It is hard to share their confidence."

The Louisville **Courier-Journal** editorially raised moral questions. It pointed out: "We conducted the Argus tests far from our usual proving grounds, out in the South Atlantic. We issued no shipping warnings, in spite of the earlier atomic tragedy of The Fortunate Dragon [a Japanese fishing vessel sprayed with radiation from one of our tests]. We asked nobody's permission to blanket the whole earth with radiation and its resultant fall-out."

In addition, knowledge of the explosions were kept from other countries participating in the Intl. Geophysical Year because of military implications. But before Argus was announced, two Russian scientists said they discovered high-energy particles at comparatively low altitudes above the earth. They guessed the cause as American space explosions.

CHANGES RECOMMENDED: On March 26 the AEC got a jolt; the Natl. Advisory Committee on Radiation recommended that "ultimate authority" in protecting the public from radiation be transferred immediately from the AEC to the U.S. Public Health Service.



Lancaster, London Daily Express

"I always find that so comforting—it invariably means there's no really serious news."

Also recommended was a comprehensive program of control of radiation from all sources; uniform national standards on radiation protection; and a thorough research program. The committee suggested that the program reach a spending level of $50,000,000 a year in five years, but proposed a start of $2,500,000 for the first year. But those who saw the report in its draft stage said it had originally called for $44,000,000 for the first year and was pared down by the inflation-conscious Budget Bureau.

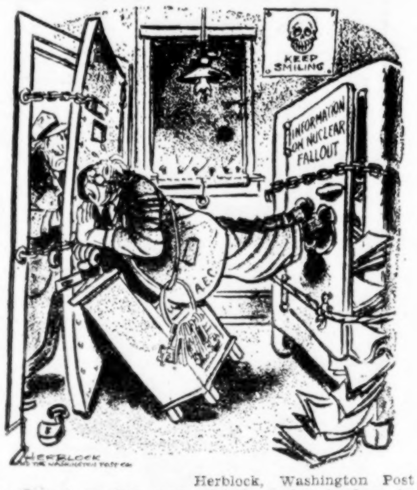
AEC chairman McCone said he would not stand in the way of the transfer, but in defense of his agency he pointed out that it was spending $20,500,000 a year on radiation control.

INADEQUACIES: But the N.Y. **Times** painted a picture of red tape and snafu in the AEC's administration of the program. It said there are only two persons working full time on fall-out research. And there is no one directly in charge of the program.

One AEC official admitted the organization was "makeshift." He said: "Our problem is . . . . administrative confusion." He added that the commission had an elaborate and extensive program covering hundreds of laboratories, hospitals and collection stations throughout the world. But no one had clear responsibility for coordinating the research. Consequently the biology and medicine division does not keep the other commission branches informed of its findings although it might be of importance to them.

Administrative bungling is perhaps the least of the AEC's failings. It has a history of what the N.Y. **Post** called a "public-be-damned" attitude. The trouble with AEC officials, Sen. Clinton P. Anderson (D-N.M.), chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, said, is that "they believe they couldn't possibly be wrong." Yet almost from its inception the commission has belittled critics who object to its rosy view of radiation hazard. More often than not the AEC has had to eat its words. These are a few examples:

- In 1955 Nobel Prize winning geneticist Dr. Herman J. Muller said of the AEC: "My theory is that every effort is being made not to play up the danger of radiation in the minds of the public." The AEC denied the charge, but a year later it revised upwards its estimate of the genetic dangers of radiation.



Herblock, Washington Post

"What makes you think we're trying to conceal anything?"

- The chairman of a special committee on radiation of the Natl. Academy of Sciences said in 1957: "I do not think it is fair to the people of the United States or to the people of the world to give them the impression that there is no danger involved in this, for there is." Dr. Albert Schweitzer the same year said that radioactivity was "a catastrophe for the human race."

AEC science member Dr. Willard F. Libby answered that the natural radiation to which everyone is normally exposed is greater than the fall-out from bomb tests. The then AEC Chairman Lewis W. Strauss added that there was "no question but that weapons testing can safely continue at the current and planned level indefinitely."

- In his 1956 Presidential campaign Adlai E. Stevenson called for an end to H-bomb testing. He was roundly abused by the Administration, but a year later the U.S. suspended testing.

WARPED VIEW: Anderson said of Libby that he "is not dishonest, but has a warped point of view." He added: "Dr. Libby will say certain data mean one thing, but Dr. Muller will see it another way."

For example, Anderson explained, Muller will look at a report and conclude that 20,000 children will be deformed because of radiation injury to the parents' genes from bomb tests. Libby will conclude from the same report that he is "pleased that this is only one in a thousand or a million." Anderson said: "These children may be black, brown or yellow, but they are human beings. Muller thinks of that. Libby does not."

Anderson also charged that the AEC measured its moves to advance the interests of the power companies. He said that the commission, in an agreement with the Defense Dept., has blocked mass production of plutonium because it can be used to produce cheap electricity in public power stations. He said the utility companies want to hold back plutonium until they can gain control of it. Failing this, they do not want the government to produce it.

THE BASIC ISSUE: In the Senate Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) called for: (1) inclusion of a biological and a nuclear scientist on the AEC when two seats become vacant on June 30; (2) elimination of censorship by the AEC and the State Dept. of information sent to the UN. He said all relevant material should be included in reports whether it confirms or casts doubt on government statements and conclusions. He also proposed that the UN's World Health Organization be empowered to conduct radiation studies.

Of all the critics, few touched the basic issue. But Dr. W. Selove, vice chairman of the Fedn. of American Scientists and Associate Professor of Physics at the U. of Pennsylvania, was one. In a letter to the N.Y. **Times** on March 29 he wrote: "It is sadly true that man's ancient faith in the suitability of war as an ultimate resort cannot be changed instantly. But unless the people and the governments make a real effort to understand the overwhelming effects of nuclear war and the fact that a real defense against intensive intercontinental ballistic missiles H-bomb attack does not exist and quite possibly never will, we shall probably stumble into devastation."

ACT FOR PEACE: Some who saw the dangers organized themselves into a group called Act for Peace. On March 28 they marched in New York City in protest to bomb testing. At a rally 600 heard Norman Thomas and Rev. A. J. Muste call for an end to tests and for an agreement on atomic disarmament at Geneva as a step toward complete disarmament.

In Aldermaston, England, outside the country's main nuclear arsenal, on the same day, 6,000 began a 50-mile march to London. On March 30 they presented a petition at the office of Prime Minister Harold Macmillan calling for the renunciation of the manufacture of nuclear weapons. Later the same day 15,000 assembled in Trafalgar Square for a public meeting.

Pauling said in California: "I think people have been shocked into inaction by the very enormity of the facts. Perhaps they have difficulty in believing we are so close to the brink of total destruction. It sounds too much like science fiction."

Louise P. Smith, Abner Green to have April 16 testimonial

PROFESSOR Louise Pettibone Smith and Abner Green, executive secretary of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, will be jointly honored at a testimonial dinner April 16, to be held at the Hotel Belmont Plaza in New York.

Reservations can be made at the Committee's offices, 49 E. 21 St. or by calling ORegon 4-5058.

Warsaw ghetto meeting

A RALLY TO COMMEMORATE the 16th anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising will be held Sun., April 19, at 1 p.m., at Manhattan Center, 34th St. and Eighth Av., N.Y.C. A cultural program will be offered.

Romuald Spasowski, Polish Ambassador to the U.S., will be the principal speaker.

Admission is $1.25 and tickets may be obtained at 1133 Broadway, Room 732; phone WA 9-2488.

NEW YORK

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Abner Green
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CALENDAR

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SCOTT NEARING
on PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP
WILLARD UPHAUS
on PEACE IS FAR FROM WON
Film: WALK FOR FREEDOM
Thurs., April 9, 8:15 p.m.
Community Church Center
565 Boylston St.—Admission free.
Ausp: Boston World Fellowship Comm.

LOS ANGELES

FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH. April 3 through April 12—**8TH ANNUAL FESTIVAL OF THE ARTS.** Art exhibit, paintings, sculpture, crafts. April 4th at 8:30 p.m. **Eugene Loring's Dance Players.** April 11th, 8:30 p.m. Unitarian Church Choir presents **Earl Robinson's** "Lonesome Train" and other musical features. April 12th, 2:30 p.m. **Jenny Wells Vincent,** Folk Songs For Children. First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8 St. (half block East of Vermont). Call DU 1-1856 for information, or send for **Festival Brochure.**

The Peace Pilgrim speaks on
"WHY I WALK FOR PEACE"
Sunday April 19 1:30 p.m.
First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8 St.
Auspices: Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice.

SAN FRANCISCO

6th TESTIMONIAL EVENING,
honoring **Attorney Lloyd McMurray.**
Guest Speaker, Rev. Edward L. Peet. Dramatic reading — Gale Sondergaard; dances and dance mimes — Bari Rolfe. Vista Room, Hotel Whitcomb, Fri., April 24. 8 p.m. Adm. $2.50. Tickets available from NORTHERN CALIFORNIA COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN, Rm. 417, 948 Market St., S F. Phone YU 2-5984 or 1422 7 St., Berkeley. Phone LA 4-0259.

PHILADELPHIA

Birthday Party for
JEAN FRANTJIS
Sat., April 11 — 8:30 p.m.
5730 Virginian Rd. $2 cont. at door
Ausp: Sobell Committee

DR. HARRY SLOCHOWER, editor of PSYCHIATRIC GUIDE, speaks on "How to Remain Maturely Youthful," Fri., April 10, 8:30 p.m., Drake Hotel, 15 & Spruce Sts. Adm: $1.50. Benefit Legal Fund for Dismissed Teachers.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

USA, USSR & CHINA
A Lecture Course by **Scott Nearing**
Sun., Apr. 12—"Can U.S. Lead the World?"
Mon., Apr. 13—"Soviet Union after Sputnik"
Tues., Apr. 14—"China Reconstructs"
Wed., Apr. 15—"The Choices Before Us."
Course ticket $2.50, single adm. $1. (students half price) 8 p.m. — Cultural Center, 4402 Georgia Av., N.W.

NEW YORK

"LITERATURE, PSYCHOLOGY & SOCIETY"
DIALOGUES between **DR. FREDERIC EWEN,** Literary Critic and **DR. HARRY SLOCHOWER,** Psychoanalist, with audience participation.
April 3—Tolstoy—"ANNA KARENINA"
April 17—Kafka: "THE TRIAL"
8:30 p.m.—Admission $1.25 each.
310 Riverside Dr. (103 St.) UN 4-1700.

DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN
will be honored at reception on Sun., April 19, 7:30 p.m. by the United Independent-Socialist Committee, Manhattan Towers Hotel (Bway at 76th St.)
Tributes from:
Howard da Silva **Eve Merriam**
John T. McManus **Dr. Howard Selsam**
Refreshments. Tickets at $1.50 at office of United Ind.-Soc. Committee, Rm. 238, 799 Broadway. Phone: GR 5-9736.

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THE YOUTH COMMITTEE OF THE N.Y. INTERCULTURAL SOCIETY
presents
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Fri., April 3, 8:30 p.m.—till???
Polonia Club, 201 2 Av. Ken Whitlock—dramatic reading, Steve Windheim & Folk Singers, Carla Reeve, Youth Activities M.C. Social. — Contribution $1.

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PLUS
Marcel Marceau . . . great pantomimes "The Butterfly," "David & Goliath," and "the Lion Tamer."
Showings: Fri., Apr. 3, 8:30 p.m. coffee follows.
Sat., April 4, 3 p.m.—Matinee
Sat., April 4, 8:30 p.m.—Social follows.
Sun., April 5, 3 p.m.—Matinee.
116 University Pl.—Cont. $1.

• • • •

Following Week
TOM KERRY
Chairman, Socialist Workers Party, N.Y. Local & Special Correspondent for The Militant, will give an Eyewitness Report of "The AFL-CIO Unemployment Conference." (held in Wash. April 8)
Friday, April 10, 8:30 p.m.
116 University Place. Cont. $1.

METROPOLITAN FRATERNAL CLUB
Meets Fri., April 3, 8:30 p.m. "Sholem Aleichem—talk, readings, etc." Guests invited—admission free. **Adelphi Hall, Rm. 11-D, 74 5 Av.**

Registration Is Now Going On For
SPRING-TERM SEVEN-WEEK CLASSES
Once weekly, 6:45-8:15 or 8:30-10 p.m.
From Mon., April 13 thru Thurs., May 29
Mon. 6:45—**PROBLEMS OF MARXIST THEORY**
Herbert Aptheker
Mon. 6:45—**CURRENT LABOR ISSUES**
Irving Potash, Louis Weinstock, V. Perlo
Mon. 8:30—**OUR COUNTRY & OUR PEOPLE**
Herbert Aptheker
Mon. 8:30—**SOVIET LAW AND DEMOCRACY**
Leon Josephson
Tues. 6:45 — **AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTIES**
Esther Cantor
Tues. 8:30—**FROM CLANS TO COMMUNES**
Henry Klein
Tues. 8:30—**SOCIALIST CURRENTS TODAY**
William Albertson
Wed. 6:45—**THE NEGRO QUESTION IN U.S.**
Herbert Aptheker, William L. Patterson
Wed. 6:45—**MARXISM vs. PRAGMATISM**
Joseph Nahem
Wed. 8:30—**LATIN AMERICA TODAY**
Michael Crenovich
Wed. 8:30—**PSYCHOLOGY & SOCIETY**
Joseph Nahem
Thurs. 6:45—**FIRST COURSE IN MARXISM**
Hyman Lumer
Thurs. 6:45—**SOCIALIST REALISM**
Sidney Finkelstein
Thurs. 8:30—**THE WORLD TODAY**
Harold Collins and others
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PLEASE TAKE NOTICE
The gradual lessening of violations of the civil rights of individuals through criminal prosecutions has reached a stage wherein the posting of bail to procure the release from confinement of persons subjected to prosecution no longer presents the critical situation which necessitated the creation of the Bail Fund. Thus the need for further sacrifice by those persons who so generously donated securities to be posted in cases of necessity has passed.

It is desired to restore the securities thus donated to the donors or to their legal successors in interest.

THEREFORE, ALL PERSONS HAVING AN INTEREST THEREIN are notified and requested, as expeditiously as possible, to communicate with the undersigned counsel for such Bail Fund, by mail, setting forth the nature and amount of interest, and the date and place of the creation of the interest. Claim will be accepted up to and including September 25, 1959.

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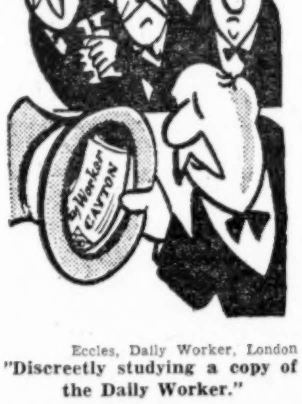
THE GALLERY

CHARLES KERSTEN, former Congressman from Milwaukee, is defense attorney for Mrs. Emma Halhai, Hungarian emigre on trial for allegedly having thrown a rock at Soviet First Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan in Cleveland last January. He told the jury that the person responsible for the incident was Cyrus Eaton who, by inviting Mikoyan to his home in the first place, had provoked Mrs. Halhai into throwing the rock . . . . Joseph Nightingale, superintendent of the Orcutt school district, has submitted plans to the California Dept. of Education for building an 18-classroom school underground. He said the underground building was necessary because of rocket launchings at nearby Vandenberg Air Force Base. . . . A 13-year-old boy was making after-school money in Mountain View, Calif., until the cops caught up with him. He was selling aspirin tablets to sailors as "sex pills" for $1 each. Police said the boy was studying psychology in school . . . . Alexander Galbraith, who died on March 3 at 75 in Daly City, Calif., cut his wife out of his will because "she sits at the window and broods and growls about the weather being cold or hot."



Eccles, Daily Worker, London
"Discreetly studying a copy of the Daily Worker."

WHEN THE RACETRACK SEASON opens in England, it will mark Alf Rubin's 24th year as handicapper for the London **Daily Worker.** Under the pen-name "Cayton," Rubin has compiled an amazing record of picking winners that is the envy of the "bourgeois press." According to rumor, circulated by Rubin's employers, Sir Winston Churchill and the Duke of Norfolk have copies of the **Daily Worker** slipped to them to check on his dialectical predictions for the Derby and Grand National . . . . This year's May Day celebration in New York's Union Square will take place on May 2. A group of businessmen have leased the square for May 1 for an "Americanism" meeting. It's OK with the Trade Union Committee for May Day: it says its supporters will find the grandstand seats erected by the businesmen, very comfortable for enjoying its long program . . . . A court in Bialystok, Poland, convicted eight men, including a Roman Catholic priest for playing poker with marked cards and using dollars for stakes . . . . The St. Patrick's Day parade in Atlanta, Ga., was without baton-twirling majorettes this year by order of City Hall. White Citizens Council leaders had protested that at the last parade Negroes cast approving glances at white beauties, who were described as the "leggiest and bustiest girls." In ordering the ban Mayor Hartsfield said: "You can't put the Hope diamond in the middle of the street and not expect somebody to try to steal it." Parade master Tom J. Griffin said the ruling was "a kick in the pants to the Irish."

A POLL by **Parade** magazine asked: "Which one of these qualities do you personally consider the more valuable and desirable in a husband: (a) good lover, (b) good provider, (c) good father, (d) good friend?" Of 3,000 women queried, 41.6% answered "good friend," and 7.2% "chose good provider." Of an equal number of men polled to guess what their wives would choose, 62% chose "good provider" and 4.3% chose "good lover." . . . As a reducing aid a Minneapolis inventor designed a wire frame that fits in the mouth and presses two lozenges under the tongue. This, he says, causes a partial anesthesia of the taste buds and reduces the desire for food.

—**Robert E. Light**

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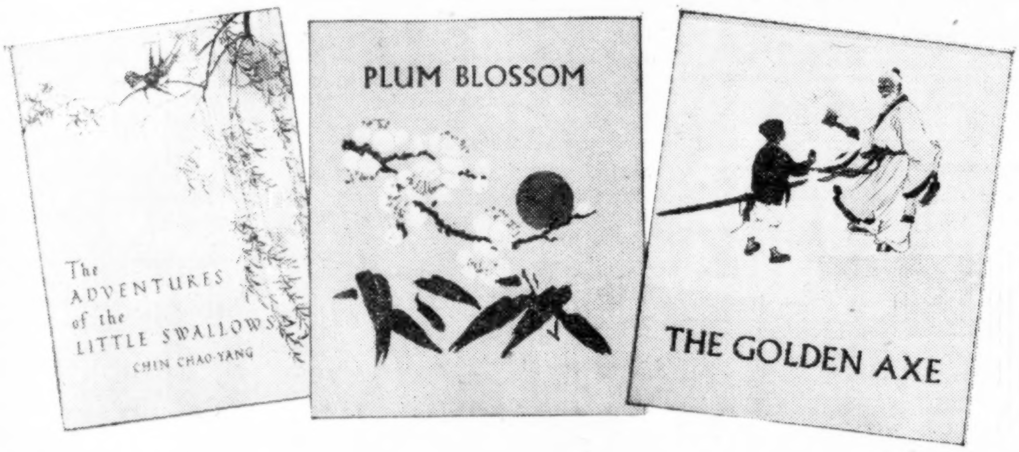

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the SPECTATOR

Dr. King in India

NEW DELHI

SINCE INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE, few Americans have come here for a "pilgrimage"—as Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King and his biographer Dr. L. D. Reddick call their recent visit to this country. It is only a decade since Indians experienced the dignity of being human and their ego is easily flattered by such an unusual visitor from the West. That he is a Negro is an added attraction, because sympathy for all oppressed people is still alive among Indians with memories of their own 'slave' past.

It was not surprising, therefore, that Dr. King and his party received ovations and cordial hospitality all over India. His publicity, I fear, was not properly organized by his host, the Gandhi Peace Foundation, which is rather unaware of its value. However, his photographs were flashed over two-column front-page editorials in almost all the papers.

The hero of the Alabama struggle who, as the press said, had "given a new sense of dignity and self-respect to his community" by non-violent means to end racial segregation, traveled thousands of miles from New Delhi far south to Trivandrum, the capital of Kerala. There he chatted as affably with the Communist Chief Minister E. M. S. Nambudiripad for two hours as he had done earlier with Prime Minister Nehru or President Rajendra Prasad in New Delhi.

DR. KING VISITED many places which the average visitor does not see these days, such as the "hermitage" near the Bodhgaya Buddhist shrine of ex-socialist Jaiprakash Narayan, who is now a disciple of Gandhi's spiritual heir Vinoba Bhave; ancient villages enroute; and 'gramadana' (land-gift) villages. He preached non-violence better than many Gandhians. When he placed a wreath on Gandhi's memorial shrine, people knew he was not merely performing a ritual practiced by all visiting dignitaries from Nasser to Khrushchev.

He even concluded, much to the surprise and disbelief of many Indians, that the "spirit of Gandhi is much stronger today than most people believe," because of "organized efforts that are being made to preserve the Mahatma's relics and literature and the movement by sainted Vinoba."

DR. AND MRS. KING FLANK PRIME MINISTER NEHRU
Photo was taken at the Ghandi Peace Foundation

Unabashed by the doubts expressed by the people of Gandhi's land regarding the efficacy of non-violence, Dr. King suggested that India should show faith in its own son, Gandhi, by disarming unilaterally. He said that "unfortunately, as yet, America and the Soviet Union have not shown the moral courage to do this." His questioners parried him with misgivings, but he patiently quoted the Gandhian Bhave on the alternative of forming Peace Brigades.

DR. KING FOUND some similarity between untouchability in India and racial segregation in the United States, in the sense that "both the Negro and the Harijan (children of God, as Gandhi called the untouchables) are born with a stigma." To an Associated Press reporter worried by his utterances, he said: "I will tell them not more nor less than what exists. I have presented a true picture as I see it."

Indian audiences were not flattered by his appreciation of the rather modest progress made by India in removing the curse of untouchability, but they were happy at the progress made by the Negroes in America in asserting their dignity as human beings.

Dr. King made news. And now in a survey of the opinions of 100 editors in India the Indian Institute of Public Opinion is asking these "molders of public opinion" the intriguing question:

"Will, in your opinion, Dr. King's non-violent method be successful in removing racial bias in the United States?"

—**Narendra Goyal**